The Nation

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Summary of the News

Events moved rapidly in England last week. The resignation of Mr. Asquith was announced on December 6, the King inviting Mr. Bonar Law to undertake the formation of a Ministry. Announcement of Mr. Law's refusal of the task and of the acceptance of it by Mr. Lloyd George was made on December 7. By Sunday the new Premier was able to announce the personnel of his Cabinet. As was expected, the conduct of the war will be in the hands of a War Council of only five members: Mr. Lloyd George, Earl Curzon (Lord President of the Council and Government leader in the House of Lords), Mr. Bonar Law (Chancellor of the Exchequer and Government leader in the House of Commons), Mr. Arthur Henderson (without portfolio), and Lord Milner (also without portfolio). Mr. Arthur Balfour goes to the Foreign Office, Lord Robert Cecil remains Minister of Blockade, Dr. Christopher Addison is Minister of Munitions, Sir Edward Carson, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Derby, Secretary for War. Mr. Austen Chamberlain continues in the Cabinet as Secretary for India. Special posts created by the war are a Minister of Labor (John Hodge), a Food Controller (Lord Devonport), a Shipping Controller (Sir Joseph Maclay), and a Minister of Pensions (George N. Barnes). Viewed in its political aspect, which has obviously influenced Mr. Lloyd George but little, the composition of the new Cabinet is as follows: Twelve Liberals, fifteen Unionists, three Laborites, and three of no conspicuous party affiliations.

The formation of his Ministry was not all plain sailing for the new Premier. The only support of which he seemed assured at the beginning was from the Unionists. The adhesion of Labor was secured at a meeting of the party on December 7, when a resolution was adopted regretting the resignation of Mr. Asquith, but deciding to support any Government pledged to vigorous prosecution of the war in which Labor should be represented. At a meeting of the Liberal party on the following day, on the plea of Mr. Asquith, it was decided to give hearty support to the new Government, although the leading Liberals of the late Ministry preferred not to accept office in the new one. The official Liberal party will, therefore, form a powerful, but benevolent, opposition. In his speech at the meeting Mr. Asquith expressly absolved Mr. Lloyd George of complicity in the carefully engineered campaign against him. The rock on which the coalition Government split was the question of the War Council, Mr. Lloyd George advocating a War Council on which the Premier should not have a seat, and Mr. Asquith being unable to accept that proposal.

The reconstruction of the British Government—one had almost said of the British Constitution—has awakened echoes in France, where the press has been increasingly insistent that a device of government similar to the British War Council is essential to the proper conduct of the war. The secret session of the Chamber of Deputies closed with a vote of confidence in the Government, but in making that announcement Premier Briand stated that a definite decision would be reached on Tuesday "resulting in a diminution in the number of members of the Cabinet and the constitution of a restricted national defence committee, as in England." There have been persistent rumors also of an impending change in the high command.

Changes in the Allied Governments are intimately connected with affairs in the Balkans, and particularly with the present situation in Greece. That situation has gone from bad to worse. That King Constantine has proved an ally of conspicuous value to the Teutonic Powers has now become perfectly obvious: inability to measure the genuineness of Greece's "benevolent neutrality" since the abrogation by the Crown of the Constitution has held Sarrail's forces impotent at Salonica, and prevented the striking of the blow that should have aided Rumania. Press dispatches make the charge freely that the attack on the Allied troops in Athens was instigated by Constantine, and that charge seems to receive support in the careful statement on the general situation in Greece given by Lord Grey to the Associated Press on December 8. Lord Grey's statement, directed principally to those who have drawn an analogy between Greece and Belgium, makes two important points, the one legal and the other moral, in justification of the Allies' presence at Salonica: (1) The legal right of the protecting Powers, France, England, and Russia, to intervene jointly is based on the treaties of July 13, 1863, and of February 1, 1830. (2) The moral justification is found in the fact that the Allied troops went to Salonica with the express approval of the constitutional head of the Greek Government of the day, M. Venizelos. Meanwhile the present situation remains uncertain. Wholesale arrests of Venizelists have taken place, and there has been a general exodus of subjects of the Allies to the Piræus. An Allied blockade of Greece is in force, and an ultimatum has apparently been presented having reference, presumably, to the concentration of Royalist troops in Thessaly.

In Rumania it is probable that the immediate objects of the Teutonic Allies have been achieved with the occupation of Wallachia. Bucharest was surrendered on December 6, and the rapid advance of von Falkenhayn's forces east and north of the city apparently rendered untenable the line of the Jalomita River. The main Rumanian army seems to have escaped the net spread for it, although the operations leading to the fall of Bucharest are said to have resulted in the capture by the Teutonic forces of some 70,000 prisoners, besides enormous quantities of guns and supplies. As we write, the Rumanians appear to be catching their breath, and a stand has been made on the Ploechti-Buzeu Road. The Russians also record advances on the Moldavian frontier. In general, expert opinion seems to be that, with the considerable shortening of their line, the Teutons will regard the objects of the present campaign as achieved, and will not attempt an invasion of the more difficult terrain of Moldavia.

The President's message to Congress, delivered in person on December 5, dealt principally with the additional legislation required in connection with the Eight-Hour law.

Prohibition as a regular plank in the programme of the Democratic party was advocated by W. J. Bryan at a dinner given in his honor in Washington on December 6.

Recent agitation for the President's mediation to bring about peace in Europe was the subject of a dispatch from Washington by the Associated Press, published in Monday's papers and evidently officially inspired. The dispatch denied that offers of mediation had recently been made or were being carried to Germany by Ambassador Gerard, or that any offers of the kind were contemplated by the Administration in the near future. Recent rumors to the contrary, the dispatch declared, had proved a source of embarrassment to the Administration, and were calculated to defeat their own ends. Nevertheless, as we go to press, news comes from Berlin of the Chancellor's announcement to the Reichstag that Germany, in concert with her allies, is proposing to enter into peace negotiations with the hostile Powers.

Simultaneously in Saturday's papers were published the text of the note addressed by the United States Government to Germany protesting against the Belgian deportations and the defence of them published to the world by the German Government. In our editorial columns we reflect the opinion on this matter held by the vast majority of the American people.

The world's shipping, belligerent and neutral, has been depleted since we wrote last week by some thirty-three vessels sunk by German submarines. The text of the German note, dated December 4, in reply to inquiries in the American communication of November 21 concerning the sinking of the Arabic was made public by the State Department on December 7. The German defence is that the commander of the submarine was convinced by his observations (through a periscope) that the Arabia was a transport and torpedoed her accordingly without warning. He did not, the note says, "perceive any women and children." If the American Government can show that the vessel was an ordinary passenger steamer, the note concludes, the torpedoing would be "a case of a regrettable mistake, from which the German Government would promptly draw the appropriate consequences." A similar reply to the inquiry regarding the Sebeck, sunk on October 20, is understood to have been dispatched to Washington. It will be interesting to note if there is a repetition of the Fryatt case in that of the commander of the steamship Caledonia, sunk last week after having, according to a statement from Berlin on Sunday, attempted to ram the submarine. The captain was made a prisoner.

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The Week

A particular motive, in addition to his usual practice, induced the President at this time to make his message short. It is a short session which Congress is facing. The time required to pass the necessary money bills will leave a small margin for other legislation. A large and ambitious programme would be certain to fail. By concentrating on a limited number of measures, there may be hope of getting most of them through. It is a brief list which the President submits. The bill for Porto Rican citizenship; that for the extension of vocational education; one to permit exporters to combine to seek foreign trade; the perfecting of the Corrupt Practices act—those cover nearly all his recommendations except the central one of his message. This deals with the completion of President Wilson's plan for taking further steps to regulate by law the operation of interstate railways. Here he is on ground made familiar by the anxieties and agitations of last summer. To them it is not now necessary to recur. If Mr. Wilson yielded then to the threats of the labor unions, he is firmly withstanding them to-day. The railway Brotherhoods and the American Federation of Labor have gone on record officially against the President's proposed legislation to prevent railway strikes. They sent delegations to him to protest. He heard them, but he persisted in his purpose. And now, without emotion or clap-trap, he has laid his project before Congress. It is at once a matter of business and a matter of public security.

Of the pretence that a bill to make strikes (or lockouts) illegal, until after full investigation, would be a bill to compel men to labor, Mr. Wilson makes short work. There is a clear distinction between involuntary servitude of individuals and the concerted action of powerful bodies of men threatening the country with commercial paralysis. It is not really being forced to work that the railway Brotherhoods dislike. They know perfectly well that any dissatisfied trainman or engineer could freely quit his job even if the President's bill were enacted. But what they dread is loss of power on the part of the leaders of the unions to renew their public menace of last summer; to threaten an instant and universal strike unless their demands were immediately complied with. It would be futile now to go over those unhappy events. Whether there would actually have been a general strike, whether the President and Congress yielded abjectly to labor-union terrorism, there is no profit in discussing at present. The main issue to-day is other and is very simple. Whatever the faults and weaknesses of last August, in December the President presses for legislation to which the railway unions are hostile, but which is manifestly in the public interest. It would destroy the fear that our transportational systems might suddenly be thrown into chaos. Farmers and manufacturers and the great mass of consumers would know where they stood, and would have a guarantee that the ground could not be cut from under them without warning and without mercy. What the President seeks is an American application of the law which has for years worked successfully in Canada. There is no reason why it should not be administered with equity in the United States. We are still in the great experiment of governmental regulation of railways, and the measure urged by Mr. Wilson would be of undisputed help in making sure that the experiment might be carried out without violent interruptions.

Protests against the Belgian deportations have evidently got under the skin of the German Government. It issued on Friday a long defence of its forcing workmen to go from Belgium to work in Germany. The whole seems an act of charity and mercy, as one reads this German description of it. But the sufficient answer to all humane pretences is that what Germany is doing is in flat violation of the laws of war and of the Hague Convention which she officially ratified. She now pleads necessity; but the very object of adopting a specific code regarding the treatment of the inhabitants of occupied territory was, as one authority expresses it, to prevent "convenience from being translated into necessity." And in the very language used now by the German Government it is transparently clear that it is for the convenience of Germany—that is, to find substitutes for the "aged men and women and even children who are wearing themselves out with work in Germany," and to release the able-bodied for military duty—that resort has been had to this form of forced labor. The explicit international rule is that people in the position of the Belgians shall not be asked to give "requisitions or services" *"except for the needs of the army of occupation."* That the German Government is complying with this it would be a mockery to assert.

As for the position of our own Government on the subject, all doubt was removed by the publication on Saturday of the note which our Chargé at Berlin was directed to read to the German Chancellor on November 29. In this the Imperial Government was told that the Government of the United States finds itself constrained to protest "most solemnly" against the deportation of Belgian civilians as an action "in contravention of all precedents and of those humane principles of international practice which have long been accepted and followed by civilized nations in their treatment of non-combatants." The language of international friendliness was scrupulously adhered to in the note, as it has been in all of President Wilson's communications to the German Government. For the expression of the emotion that is behind the protest, the indignation with which the American people are filled at the contemplation of this colossal barbarity, the only adequate vehicle is to be found in great public meetings. The one that is to be held at Carnegie Hall tomorrow evening should be the signal for like manifestations of abhorrence in every great city in the country.

The Constitutional amendment proposed by Senator Shafroth makes a change, not in the basis of the electoral vote for President and Vice-President, but only in the mechanism. It is to be hoped that Congress will limit consideration to this aspect of the subject; for it is at once extremely desirable and altogether feasible to get the mechanism cleared of difficulties and dangers, while any attempt at fundamental change is sure not only to raise doubts, but to encounter formidable difficulties. The particular proposal made by Senator Shafroth includes the often-mooted change to a single six-year term; and this, too, whatever the reasons in its favor, should be kept out of the amendment of the electoral mechanism. If the single term is good, let it be passed on its merits, and not tied up with an improvement which, if presented by itself, would meet with hardly any opposition. The personality of the elector is wholly useless, and technicalities connected with it may at any time become a dangerous element in the decision of the Presidential result. Let the States cast their electoral vote, such as it now is, directly for President and Vice-President, without the nominal intermediation of the electors; that is a simple reform, and we ought to be able to get it at once. And it would have the incidental, but very great, advantage of permitting preferences on the Vice-Presidency

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as well as on the Presidency to be expressed by the voters.

With commendable promptness Secretary Daniels has lifted the ill-advised censorship which Capt. Knapp established in Santo Domingo. This was the enlightened action which we were sure would be taken. But things should not stop there. We are doing in that unhappy island what the President has said that we would not do in Mexico—intervening by force. The islanders may even have a *prima facie* case in asserting that the downfall of their Government has been due to our refusal to let them conduct their affairs in their own way. We sincerely hope that Congress will hold the Executive to a strict accountability for what is going on in Santo Domingo. There is no warrant for it—except by remote implication—in our treaty of 1907. We should like to see a Congressional committee appointed to look into both the Haitian and Dominican situations, so that all the facts may be laid not only before Congress, but before the people.

The main obstacle in the way of a clearer understanding of Mexican conditions by the American people is that the problem needs to be divided: there are conditions in northern Mexico and conditions in the rest of the republic. Inevitably we are led to judge of the whole situation by what we see going on under our eyes close to the border. If banditry is rife in Chihuahua, if the capital of that State is not safe against capture by Villistas, what more reasonable than to conclude that a similar situation prevails everywhere under the de-facto Government? More than that, even if we knew things to be better elsewhere in Mexico, we have yet a seeming right to govern our conduct by what is nearest to us and affects us most closely. Yet fuller knowledge of the general state of Mexican affairs is welcome; and nothing can be more useful than one or two brief extracts from a dispatch by the New York *Evening Post's* correspondent:

> It was possible actually to witness a change for the better, a change which even members of the disgruntled American colony admitted was an improvement on times past, a year ago, for instance.
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> The resident correspondents without a single exception, good American newspaper men who have put up with a lot of personal inconvenience, too, told me that Mexico had improved, and that she was going ahead, and that if the United States and Mexico once composed their border difficulties, there would not be the slightest doubt about the future of Mexico.
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> One of these Cientificos who had every reason to hate the de-facto Government told me privately that the Carranza Government had done better than he had ever dreamed it would and that he believed it would succeed in re-establishing law and order.

Fuller knowledge of what is going on inside of Mexico will also help to explain, if not to excuse entirely, the attitude of Carranza in its variations from apparent obstinacy to stupid exasperation. For if the American people judge of the entire Mexican problem by conditions in Chihuahua, the de-facto President, on the other hand, regards Chihuahua as only one factor in his problem. We may imagine Carranza arguing: If Mexico, as a whole, outside of Chihuahua, is being pacified, if economic conditions are improving, if starvation is less than it was a year ago, if the railways are being rebuilt, if industry is being reëstablished, and, above all, if the work of providing the country with a new social and political system is being pushed ahead successfully, why should the American people fix its eyes only on the Chihuahua sore spot? The answer is, of course, that elementary American rights cannot altogether be sacrificed to Mexico's needs. But there is enough force in Carranza's contention to drive home the need of fuller knowledge of what is going on in the republic as a whole.

The report of the Secretary of the Treasury calls attention first to the country's financial position. "General confidence in the future, healthful enterprise and development, have been marked characteristics of the year." "Fundamental conditions have never been more sound." In the field of industry, "efficiency of organization and production have reached the highest point in the country's history." The country's financial strength, "the greatest in our history," has given us "a commanding position in world finance; we have been transformed from a debtor to a creditor nation." In particular, our stock of gold has increased $714,597,804 in the past sixteen months; through which, along with the operations of the Federal Reserve system, "we have been able to finance our great domestic and foreign trade without strain, and to extend vast amounts of credit to other nations throughout the world."

These noteworthy facts are familiar to every one who has watched the developments of the past two years. The Secretary limits himself to the reciting of the facts; he might with advantage, we think, have gone more fully into discussion of the economic reasons why our abnormally large credits on foreign trade account not only provided the means for our equally unprecedented loans to Europe and the neutral world, but, in the case of Europe, involved such extension of credit as a logical and necessary corollary. It would have been worth pointing out, also, that the capital raised for the recent large loans to the Allies did not figure as capital withdrawn from the United States, since the proceeds of the loans were wholly expended in payment for purchases from American manufacturers. The Secretary, perhaps wisely, does not indulge in specific forecasts of the future, except to say that "if we make intelligent use of our great power and exceptional financial resources, we can cope successfully with any conditions the future may develop." Events in the New York money market during the past week suggest, however, that the qualification as to making "intelligent use" of our financial resources may be something to keep in mind. Fifteen per cent. on Wall Street demand loans, ostensibly due to reduced surplus reserves, hardly indicates foresighted recourse to the facilities of the Federal Reserve, through rediscount of commercial paper, to regulate the general banking position.

Guesswork may be good enough for the common run of folk trying to account for the result of the election, but the true-blue protectionist is in no such quandary. He walks in the light of a fixed and unchangeable faith, and is untroubled by the necessity of looking into facts or reasoning about them. A touching interchange of sentiment has just taken place between Senator Gallinger and the editor of the *American Economist*, who are in entire agreement upon "the fact that had the campaign recently closed been waged on the question of protection to American industries and American labor the result would have been different, and Mr. Hughes would have been elected President of the United States." "Some of us," the Senator adds, "urged that upon the men who had control of the campaign, but it seemed to fall upon deaf ears." Judging from the floods of money spent upon shrieking advertisements of the good old soup-house character, the ears of the campaign managers can hardly have been so very deaf; the deafness appears rather to have been in the ears of the voters. And in any case, we rather fancy that Mr. Gallinger himself did not neglect the dear old issue, and yet it was New Hampshire that furnished the singular phenomenon of a New Eng-

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land State carried by the Democrats in a Presidential election; and Rhode Island elected a Democratic Senator, though Lippitt made a ripping protectionist fight. But Gallinger's answer to all this is doubtless perfectly simple. The campaign ought to have been fought on the protection issue solely; everything that turned the voters' attention away from it for a moment was so much to the bad. As old Tony Weller said of the sad blundering of Mr. Pickwick's lawyers, "Oh, Sammy, Sammy, vy worn't there a alleybi?"

The request of the returned Progressives for formal recognition in Republican councils is met by a call from the Progressive Old Guard for a conference to consider the possibility of "a really coherent and a really national liberal party—perhaps under one of the old party standards, perhaps under a new standard." The names of Woodrow Wilson and Hiram Johnson are coupled as those of leaders in the new alignment. The result of the recent election gives a significance to this statement which Republican leaders of all degrees of progressiveness and reaction cannot regard too seriously. It is plain that there are numbers of men who before 1912 expected to live and die Republicans, but who are now balancing in their minds their future party allegiance. We may dismiss the supposed alternative of a new party. In the end, these uncertain but discontented Progressives will join one of the old parties. They may not all join the same one, but it is by no means impossible that the bulk of them will swing together. As in 1884 and 1892, the party of moral ideas sees thousands of men who would prefer to remain loyal to it forced, as they feel, to debate withdrawal from it. The Republican Old Guard need not adopt a hostile attitude in order to cut the last thread that binds these voters to the party; hesitation, fumbling, an apparent disposition to wait upon events and hope for "harmony," may, giving the man in the White House time to make forays among the neutrals, be equally fatal.

A recent decision of the Supreme Court sustains the Interstate Commerce Commission in holding that railway rates between terminals which are also ocean or canal terminals may be lowered to meet the competition of water-carriers. When the Panama Canal was opened, the railways asked the Commission to modify previous rulings in order to enable them to reduce certain rates to points on the Pacific Coast without reducing them to the same extent on shipments for inter-mountain points. This modification of the long-haul, short-haul orders was granted. Afterwards, further reductions on west-bound goods were asked for. The Supreme Court establishes the principle upon which the Commission has acted in lowering rates, and vacates a troublesome injunction by the Federal District Court.

The country may be going dry, but prohibition is still a vexed question in the original prohibition State. It is becoming the fashion for new Governors of Maine to announce that they will enforce the law. This announcement arouses only languid interest, but there is real curiosity over how they propose to do it. Gov. Plaisted declared that he would make Maine "as dry as a covered bridge," but, in the words of the Boston *Herald*, he found that the roof of the bridge was rotten and the shingles had blown off. Just now speculation is active concerning the ways and means which Gov.-elect Milliken will adopt to achieve an aim which "other Governors of good intentions and irreproachable character have failed utterly" to realize. Gov. Cobb, who perhaps came nearest to squaring his deeds with his words, had a State Enforcement Commission created for that special purpose, with deputies who went into counties where the sheriffs were lax and made seizures of liquor. But his success only provoked the next Legislature into abolishing the Commission! Gov. Haines resorted to the less radical method of having the Legislature impeach and remove delinquent county officers, but this was a slow process. A justice who suggests that the Governor be empowered to remove sheriffs and county attorneys at his discretion is told by the Attorney-General of the State that this would amount to passing a law that these officers "shall be elected by the people and serve during the pleasure of the Governor." Finally, there is talk of using the militia. As the *Herald* remarks, the discussion always arrives at the same goal: when the cities want the law enforced, it will be, and not until then.

Atlanta University, an institution for the higher education of colored men and women in Atlanta, Ga., now celebrating its semi-centennial, has begun the raising of a half-million-dollar endowment fund. To this we gladly call our readers' attention in the earnest hope that some of them will contribute to this most worthy undertaking, even at a time when the need for help in Europe is so great. Even in the South realization is coming that if the colored people are to direct their footsteps towards efficiency, probity, and useful citizenship, there must be among them great leaders and great teachers. This is precisely the opportunity and need which Atlanta University has lived up to for fifty years. A majority of its graduates are in positions of responsibility and influence. It is estimated that more than fifty thousand children are under the daily instruction of men and women who hold Atlanta degrees or studied there for some time. Yet this College has a pitifully inadequate equipment; it is really five millions of dollars that it ought to be asking instead of five hundred thousand; just as it should have 5,400 pupils instead of its 540. It should be able to offer a higher grade of collegiate teaching than is the case at present; indeed, history will surely express itself freely in the years to come on the short-sightedness of the Federal Government in not seeing to it that there was at least one such institution in every one of the old slave States. To-day Atlanta has an able and enterprising president, Edward T. Ware, son of its first president and founder, who is compelled to leave his work at the University to appeal for the small sum of money the University needs. To thousands of colored people it has stood as an open door to opportunity.

Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, whose death at Paris was announced in Monday's dispatches, was eminently endowed with the faculty of lucid writing, and with a sense of the practical, in his handling of economic problems. A man who was born in 1843, and who was recognized as a high authority in contemporaneous discussion of the economic history of 1870, might have been imagined as a link with the old schools of political economy. But Leroy-Beaulieu's interest in interpreting first of all the visible movements and phenomena of the day became greater as he grew older. No one has discussed the new and bewildering economic problems of the war with more clarity and vigor than Leroy-Beaulieu in his weekly articles in the *Economiste Français*. Indeed, these discussions have covered with equal comprehensiveness the political and military problems; and the number of the *Economiste* at hand by last week's mail contained what was scheduled as his hundred and first article on "The War; the Situation and the Outlook." Apparently, he died in the midst of active work; though he was greatly shaken by the death of his son and coadjutor, a promising younger economist, at the battle-front last year.

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THE NEW ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

Lloyd George's Cabinet, the make-up of which was announced on Monday, is still nominally a Coalition Government. Numerically, the balance of parties in it is held nearly level. But reckoning offices by their importance, not number, the lion's share has gone to the Conservatives. They have the Foreign Office, the Exchequer, the Colonies, War, and the Navy. In some of the new posts, intended to give fuller control of food and labor, and otherwise better to mobilize the national resources, Liberal or Labor members are found. But the predominance of Conservatives in the Government of the new Liberal Prime Minister is indisputable. This may have been due in part to the refusal of some of Asquith's followers to take office under Lloyd George. But the result is unmistakable. It marks a swing away from the Liberal party as it has existed for the past ten years. At the same time the Ministry is coalition to a sufficient degree to prevent the immediate formation of an Opposition in the House of Commons.

A great deal will be expected of the new Government. We presume that more will be expected than it can possibly perform. The Premier is a man of marked and versatile ability, is capable of arousing high enthusiasm as well as bitter animosity, and has a driving power possessed by few. If he retains his health, he may fairly be counted upon to energize the working forces of the Government. In particular is foreshadowed legislation curtailing the manufacture and sale of liquor; with other measures designed to cut down waste, penalize luxury, and heighten efficiency. Along such lines it will be natural for Lloyd George to move with vigor and effect. He will doubtless feel that everything must be made ready betimes for the campaign of 1917; and in both husbanding and marshalling the resources of the Empire his energy will have full and fruitful scope.

He himself holds no portfolio. He is simply Premier and head of the War Council. It is characteristic of his boldness—not to say audacity—that he thus undertakes a function which he held that Mr. Asquith, as Prime Minister, could not properly discharge. But in all this matter of a small Cabinet, within the Cabinet, to have sole charge of the conduct of the war, there is need of discrimination, of noting the things which it ought not to attempt to do, and cannot if it does. It is well to have responsibility concentrated. Big decisions may have swiftly to be made in this war; and, as we see in France, the conviction is deepening that the authority to make them must be confided to a small group of Ministers. These men, sitting daily in conference, may also do excellent work in coördinating the various war services, and in preventing delay, doubt, and stagnation. But it would be a mistake to suppose that such a body of civilians can wisely impose their opinion about technical military matters. It would be folly for Sir Edward Carson at the Admiralty to order a sudden and perhaps perilous departure in naval policy. That question must be for Sir John Jellicoe and Admiral Beatty to decide. Similarly, the Earl of Derby, well fitted as he is to be Secretary for War, would be rash in the extreme to disregard the trained judgment of the General Staff or the special views of Gen. Robertson and Gen. Haig. The old Governmental machine may be repaired and speeded up, but it will have, after all, to work with the existing material and under the limitations which inhere in the nature of war-making.

David Lloyd George comes to his kingdom at a time of unexampled opportunity. If he succeeds in organizing final victory, he will be the idol of the British Empire. But the possibility of splendid failure will long dog his steps. And in estimating the personal qualities which he will bring to his grand essay of fortune, we have to keep in mind his proved defects as well as his admitted powers. Some of his admirers have lately been speaking of him as "a man who thinks in headlines." This is a gift not without its dangers. It may, indeed, make Lloyd George an adept in the arts of publicity. It may endear him to Lord Northcliffe, who has been hurling his headlines at Asquith for months. But this very fact ought to warn the new Prime Minister that the big type of newspapers may injure as well as help. And the public man who is always thinking of how his achievements will look in flaring print subjects himself to what is at once a temptation and a peril. Lloyd George has frequently shown a preference for sensational methods—that seems to be what is meant by thinking in headlines—which would go ill with the great office that he has at last attained. But such is the flexible genius at his command that he may, from now on, choose to figure before his countrymen as the grimly silent Minister wreaking himself upon the saving of the nation.

A SIMPLIFIED WAR.

It is not enough to say that the downfall of Rumania means the end of a phase in the great conflict. Rumania's disaster means the end of a phase which began with the beginning of the war. It closes the period of adventure which opened for the Germans with the attack on Liège and for the Allies with the invasion of Gallipoli. In both instances the motive was a short-cut to victory. In both instances the military short-cut brought in its train political and diplomatic complications which made the military problem infinitely more difficult, which, indeed, probably doomed it to failure in advance. To end the war quickly, and by way of Paris, was the Kaiser's purpose. It failed within a month at the Marne. To end the war by way of Constantinople was the Allied purpose. It has failed, after nearly two years, at Bucharest. To get at Paris the Kaiser dared the crime of Belgium and brought down on himself the judgment of the world. To get at Constantinople the Allies plunged into the bog of Balkan hatreds and ambitions. But whereas the Kaiser was quick to recognize the defeat of his policy of adventure and to settle down to a humdrum war of defence, the Allies were slow to learn. They cluttered forward from one disappointment to another, always a bit too late, always a good deal unprepared, but always hoping nevertheless for Germany's defeat in the Balkans.

All that is over. The Balkan possibilities are exhausted. Turkey, Bulgaria, Servia, and Rumania have disposed of themselves or been disposed of. Only Greece remains, and it is no longer possible to conceive that any developments in Greece may change the military aspect in southeastern Europe. If the impossible were to happen and King Constantine should strike hands with the Allies, the puny Greek army could be of little help in overcoming the present overwhelming preponderance of the Central Powers in the Balkans. It is idle to speak of Constantinople or of an invasion of Austria across the Danube. The great Allied problem now is the conservation of the army of Salonica. Will that army be able to hold out against the enormous pressure which the Central Powers can now bring to bear? And if by extraordinary efforts the Allies may succeed in reinforcing Sarrail's army to the point where it could stand up against an attack of Mackensen, is the effort worth while? That is the answer which must soon be given by England through Lloyd George and by

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France through Briand. The French Premier is credited with being the original champion of the Salonica adventure. Lloyd George likewise has been described as an "Easterner," as opposed to the majority in Asquith's Cabinet, which it now appears had no enthusiasm for the Balkan enterprise.

But if Lloyd George has succeeded in ousting Asquith, it is to be noticed that London has predicted no change in policy, but only a greater energy in carrying on the war. Briand has received a vote of confidence in Parliament, but 160 Deputies voted against him, a very significant minority for war-times. In other words, the policy of Asquith of indifference to the Balkans has not been abandoned in England, and in France Briand's policy of active intervention in the Balkans has met with severe opposition. It would be only one more ironic incident in the history of the war if Lloyd George and Briand should now be called on to make the first application of their unquestioned vigor in abandoning the policy of Balkan adventure for which they have hitherto stood out. Energy and decision do not always manifest themselves in bold undertakings and a bull-dog persistence in the face of the inevitable. It requires energy and courage to confess a mistake, to admit a defeat, and to try again elsewhere. With the failure of all hopes of Constantinople there is no longer any excuse for the efforts and sacrifices which the Allies have expended in that direction. The drain on French resources for the Mediterranean campaign, the strain on English shipping, can hardly be justified by any success now in view. It is now certain that if the Allies are to win the war, it must be done in the west.

For the Allies, therefore, the collapse of Rumania, with the possible end of operations in the Balkans, will have this advantage, that it will serve to clear the air, to simplify their problem. Hitherto it has been altogether too complex for their resources, and for many reasons. It has been too complex because the very nature of an alliance precluded that perfect harmony of coöperation which a delicate and involved undertaking requires. It has been too complex because the war in the Balkans had to be carried on at the end of a thin and extended line of communications by sea. It has been too complex because military operations were made dependent on a delicate interplay of diplomacy. For all the talk of unity of purpose and unity of front, the Allied leadership has not been equal to the enormous task. This confession may now be made openly at London and Paris, in spite of its strictly non-military implications. It would be the acceptance of a moral defeat. It would give new impetus to enemy taunts about Allied "protection" to Servia and Rumania. But in this very bitter business into which the war has resolved itself moral defeats and enemy taunts and confessed humiliations are part of the day's work. In the test of grim endurance which the war will henceforth become, the Allies must, above everything else, avoid all dissipation of energy. They must fight on the shortest front they can make, and as near to their base as they can get; and these indications point to the original theatres of war; for the Anglo-French the western front, and for Russia the present line in the east.

In two ways, therefore, the Allies may draw advantage from the defeat of their Balkan hopes. There should be an end to divided councils as between westerners and easterners which have undoubtedly lamed the conduct of the war both at London and at Paris and as between the two capitals. There should be an intenser effort in the west. The shipping now devoted to Mediterranean enterprises can largely be restored to the feeding of England and her allies and to the munitioning of Russia. In that inexhaustible reservoir of men the annual yield of recruits is a million and a half, and behind the men there is the determination to go on with the fight to the end. All doubts about a separate Russian peace with the Kaiser have been removed. This means that the Allied Governments need no longer spend their energies on diplomacy. The War Offices need no longer wait on the Foreign Offices. There is little for the Governments to negotiate. They can devote themselves with single mind to the grim business of the simplified battlefield.

MILITARY REORGANIZATION.

What the *Nation* pointed out weeks ago is now universally admitted: the National Guard has collapsed as a result of its service in Texas. Wherever the troops have returned the story is the same. What is happening in Illinois is clearly illustrated by the reënlistments in three Illinois regiments totalling from 2,750 to 3,000 men, who were supposed to take the Federal oath for reenlistment under the Hay act for a period of six years. In the First Infantry 50 officers and 176 men swore in; in the Second, 49 officers and 322 men, and in the Third Infantry, 53 officers and 341 men. The rest felt that in justice to those dependent upon them they could not risk further border service. With the facts thus granted, what is to be done? The Senators and Representatives who have just arrived in Washington are utterly at sea. Senator La Follette reports that his daily attacks upon the whole preparedness idea were applauded more than anything else during his campaign for reëlection. Senator Borah has already introduced a bill repealing all of the Hay act relating to the militia. But beyond that—what? Superficial thinkers and our professional militarists are saying that this means universal service—without, of course, considering either the financial or social cost, or the fact that this would make over the United States into a nation in which militarism dominated everything else. Many newspapers are putting forth this idea; those that do not, confess themselves at a loss, as are our legislators, to make really constructive suggestions. They are baffled not only by the problem of the militia, but also by the total failure to get men to enlist in the regulars. Secretary Baker's report shows that the increase in the army is so slight as to be negligible.

Obviously, the first thing to do is *not* to do anything hastily. With this example of the results of quick legislation under great pressure before us, Congress should do now what it should have done a year ago: take plenty of time to consider the whole situation, to sound public sentiment—real public sentiment and not that manufactured by defence leagues and paid press agents—and above all else to begin by re-forming and re-constituting the present inefficient regular army. The *Nation* insisted last winter that no real preparedness could come out of the Hay law, because it was merely building a superstructure upon a rotten foundation. For that we were ridiculed and abused and accused of insulting the army. We reiterate every charge that we made at that time, and we insist that until the regular army itself can be made 100 per cent. efficient, it is useless to talk of adding more men. To this end the first step would be a rigid investigation of the army as at present constituted and administered, if only to cut out the enormous waste of funds, and to bring about the introduction of business methods and ordinary, every-day military efficiency; some system by which men shall be held responsible for the effectiveness with which they work. To-day no army officer is ever punished for failures for which he would be discharged from any ordinary clerkship. No colonel is

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ever punished no matter how unmilitary his regiment may be. The whitewashing of the Thirteenth Cavalry at Columbus proves that.

Granting that because of our prosperity no worse time to induce men to enlist could have come to pass, the fact remains that there is still something radically wrong with the army when it can enroll in the face of our Mexican troubles and all the preparedness excitement only 2,667 men in October, 1916, as against 2,466 in October, 1915, and 3,493 in October, 1911. This year much more money was spent on the recruiting service and far greater efforts were made by additional stations, liberal advertising, motion pictures, etc. At the same time the Marine Corps, militarily far more efficient than the army and offering about the same rates of pay, is able to keep its ranks full. What the army needs is to be turned into a training school out of which men can get something more than military drill. More than one army officer believes that in this day of killing by machines the army should teach trades to a vastly greater extent than now. Increased pay there will doubtless have to be.

Here, in the reorganization of the regulars, is our first *constructive* task. Another is the strengthening of the home army itself by bringing from abroad regiments now stationed overseas, whose position frequently suggests considerations other than purely military. Why should regular regiments be wasted in Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska? Hawaii can be defended only by the fleet; if the fleet is defeated, the islands are bound to be cut off. Had the cavalry and infantry regiments now there and in the Philippines and at Panama—where there are the best coast defences we have—been withdrawn and put into Texas, the necessity of calling on the whole of the National Guard would never have arisen—always provided that the Mexican border had been efficiently patrolled, as a competent police force or constabulary would have patrolled it. Again, in the development of a constabulary as efficient as that in Pennsylvania or the Philippines lies another possibility of real constructive legislation both for Congress and for the several States. With a constabulary at hand for ordinary breaches of the peace or mob-violence one bar to enlistment in the militia would be removed. But first and foremost should be the restoration of the National Guard to its former position as a purely State organization. It can still be made a vastly more effective body than it ever was if the spectre of Federal control passes; the steady growth in efficiency of the New York and Massachusetts troops proves that. The difficulty was that when the preparedness mania was yielded to we would not wait for the slow processes of reorganization to continue. We had to have a second line in service within thirty days.

Now, many think that we can get that reserve and a fighting force within thirty days if only we turn to conscription. It took 115 years to bring the German army up to its present efficiency, but that we overlook. Fortunately, there are plenty of signs besides Senator La Follette's and Mr. Bryan's testimony that the American people do not wish to be stampeded into militarism. But plainly the military problem that confronts Washington is one to challenge constructive statesmanship of the highest order.

WHAT AN EXECUTIVE BUDGET MIGHT DO.

As the Government expenditures mount year by year, the question of dealing with them in the most efficient way becomes more important; and there are many signs that the executive budget plan is slowly gaining ground. The departmental estimates by Secretary McAdoo run slightly over a billion and a quarter—$1,268,715,000. This sum no longer startles; for a year ago the estimates reached the total of $1,285,857,000. But a mere glance at the figures is a reminder that the totals for 1916-17 and 1917-18 are so large that we should be anxious to see estimates carefully laid out and ways and means carefully canvassed. Two years ago the total appropriations amounted to only $1,115,120,000, and three years ago to but $1,094,000,000; while to go back a few years more is to find them well under a billion. It is, of course, true that the executive budget would—despite Aldrich's estimate that bad management costs us two or three hundred millions a year—by no means offer hope of epoch-making reductions. Such new items as those for increased national defence, which come to about $750,000,000 this year, would expand the national outlay under any system. But we might avoid serious wastes and extravagant Congressional practices.

"I believe," remarked Representative Fitzgerald recently, "that the time will come when the power to initiate money bills must be taken from the individual. . . . I believe this is inevitable if the Federal Government is not to break down with the weight of expenditures." Mr. Fitzgerald is typical of a number of Congressmen who have turned from opposition to the budget to advocacy of it. It may be said that all recognize that it is coming, but that most of its opponents wish to postpone it. Nearly all recognize at heart that it is unfortunate that Secretary McAdoo's "Book of Estimates" should fall into general neglect in Congress and out; and that his estimates, after being divided among nine House committees, should be open to all manner of amendments, additions, and provisions for private or sectional spoils. With the executive budget, carefully prepared by the departments and reported by President or Treasury as a final programme for the year, it would be impossible for Congressmen, or influences working through Congressmen, to increase the sums listed or add new items—only reduction or elimination would be allowed. The preparation of the budget and necessity of careful adherence to it would result in definite departmental economies, as would also a new supervision which would be possible over unexpended balances. The expenses and resources of Government would be more carefully coördinated. It is not strange that President Taft and the Economy and Efficiency Commission gave all their weight to the plan; that President Wilson was largely instrumental in the careful consideration of it by Representatives Sherley's and Fitzgerald's committees, and that bodies like the United States Chamber of Commerce have declared emphatically for it.

It is true that most Government officers no longer pad their estimates as a precaution against the blue pencil; that the Treasury has improved the form in which it offers its estimates; and that heads like Assistant Secretary Newton of the Treasury, in charge of public buildings expenditures, are veritable watch-dogs. Yet nine-tenths of the 6,000 bills introduced in the first days of the last session of Congress were private pension bills or like measures. Although in 1914 and 1915 the War Department had received $20,000,000 and $30,000,000 for expert expenditure on the rivers and harbors, last summer a regular "pork-barrel" containing $42,000,000 rolled through. The existing waterways projects, calling for $300,000,000, promise much additional waste unless we arrange soon for both the budget and expert direction of the money voted. The Public Buildings bill, carrying $30,000,000, was happily sidetracked, but it may again be hustled through. Public buildings still offer striking examples of waste. A recent allowance of $185,000 for a Federal building at Evanston, Wyo., is regarded as the most shocking bit of pork yet distributed, and the scandal regarding the $169,000 site for the

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Seattle post office is of recent date. Opportunity for all sorts of influences to bring undue pressure upon committees—boosters, chambers of commerce, politicians—can be cut off in only one way.

The executive budget plan would throw a new responsibility upon our departments, with their too swiftly changing personnel; and its details would have to be worked out with care. A great range of the current expenses of Government it would not affect at all; and it would not obviate the necessity of still spending for waterways and court houses, army posts and navy yards, pensions and special claims. But it would treat our financial affairs as all other great Governments treat theirs. Before President Wilson's second Administration is far advanced, we hope to see him pressing for an executive budget.

PIONEERS OF STANDARD OIL.

With the death of John D. Archbold passes the last but one of the sub-architects in what is still the greatest product of American constructive genius outside of the sphere of government—the Standard Oil Company. The founder of Standard Oil, at the age of seventy-seven, has outlived nearly all of the younger men whom he called, not so much into his service, as into a scheme of cooperation of which he was the inventor. This notable group comprised Archbold, J. A. Bostwick, H. M. Flagler, William Frew, Shephen V. Harkness, Charles Lockhart, Daniel O'Day, and H. H. Rogers. These men demonstrate the solution by John D. Rockefeller of one of the most difficult problems in any field of human enterprise, namely, the harnessing of strong individualities to harmonious action in behalf of a common cause. Standard Oil escaped the usual fate that overtakes a Ministry of all Talents, or a General Staff of strong men. The enormous success of the company was due in a measure that cannot yet be appraised to the efforts of men who, satisfied with the substantial rewards of their labors, were content to work in comparative anonymity, with the result that Standard Oil and Rockefeller have become synonymous. These substantial rewards, to be sure, were of such dimensions as to encourage loyalty to the common cause. But money will not altogether appease the striving for power and distinction. The fact that there have been no civil wars, no insurrections, within the ranks of Standard Oil is a greater tribute to the genius of Rockefeller than the mere size of his personal fortune.

This, indeed, was the purpose from which the Standard Oil Company was born. To use the name of a contemporary organization whose aims could not imaginably be further apart from those of Mr. Rockefeller in the early 70's, Standard Oil was a Fellowship of Reconciliation. It was created to do away with competition in the oil fields. In its beginnings it was not strong enough to impose itself on the producers and refiners in the oil fields. It won them over by patience and substantial persuasion. J. D. Archbold was one of the most bitter opponents of Mr. Rockefeller's unifying schemes as they first took shape in the formation of the South Improvement Company in 1870, but in 1873 he had joined the combination, and he was one of the strong men of the company when Standard Oil was organized in its classic form nine years later. Of these men Miss Tarbell has written:

> Unquestionably the great strength of the Standard Trust in 1882, when it was founded, as it is to-day, was the men who formed it. However sweeping Mr. Rockefeller's commercial vision, however steady his purpose, however remarkable his insight into what was essential to the realization of his ambitions, he would never have gone far had he not drawn men into his concern who understood what he was after and knew how to work for it. His principle concerning men was laid down early: "We want only the big ones, those who have already proved they can do a big business. As for the others, unfortunately they will have to die." The scheme had no provision for mediocrity—nor for those who could not stomach his methods. The men who in 1882 formed the Standard alliance were all from the foremost ranks in the petroleum trade, men who without question would be on top to-day if there had never been a Standard Oil Company.

Miss Tarbell might have added that these men brought to Standard Oil not only the habits and prestige of success, but the impetus of youth. Rockefeller himself was only thirty-one when he laid the foundations of the company. Daniel O'Day, one of the strong men of the company, was under thirty when he brought his genius to the task of mobilizing the transportation and pipe-line monopoly of Standard Oil. Archbold was twenty-five when he entered the Rockefeller alliance.

The youthfulness of these men when the beginnings of Standard Oil were laid will account for the fact that only within the last few years have they been vanishing from the scene. But the marvellous rate of growth of Standard Oil is itself the principal reason why a life of less than seventy years, like that of Archbold, should have spanned an entire epic. For something of an epic grandeur unquestionably adhered to Standard Oil, whether we regard it as the creation of individual talent or as the expression of America's unbounded energy and resources. The first formal dissolution of the Standard Oil Trust was effected nearly twenty-five years ago. Governmental investigation of Mr. Rockefeller's activities began in 1879. Usually when we speak of a popular fight against a great evil, there rises the vision of a system rooted in the dim past, of a populace battling against the despotism of centuries. But the monopoly which a committee of the New York Legislature and other States set out to investigate in 1879 was just nine years old, and the Trust which was dissolved in 1892 under Federal pressure was a little over twenty years old.

It will be a fascinating problem for some future historian of Standard Oil—or the task may be undertaken by the biographer of any one of its strong men aside from Mr. Rockefeller—to attempt an appraisal of what credit for the growth of Standard Oil must be apportioned to the founder himself and how much to the men whom he gathered around him.

Allied Pressure on the Greek King

By JOHN A. HUYBERS.

> Tino would plant his tent with joy
> Under Larissa's skies,
> *Saying* "Ta-ta!" to his dear Tatoi,
> Winking his neutral eyes;
> Thither his traps he'd gladly shunt,
> Staking his all on the German stunt,
> Only—he hasn't got a front,
> Thanks to the rude Allies.

In these eight lines Sir Owen Seaman, in London *Punch* of October 25, gives the real situation. Moreover, the rude Allies are obliging the King to remove his army from Larissa, and, as latest rumor has it, the Ministers of the Entente will demand the handing over of the artillery and munitions of the Greek army.

England up to the last moment failed to recognize Bulgaria's hostile attitude, as she failed to recognize an ally of Germany in the King of Greece. France is the prime mover in the drastic measures now being taken against an enemy who has been finally unmasked, and who, if he was not openly arrayed against the Allies, was not so arrayed only because strength and opportunity were lacking. On November 7, disregarding the refusal of the Greek Government, the French admiral hoisted the French flag on the lighter vessels of the Greek navy that will be used with French crews to patrol Greek waters.

The *Patris* of November 8 continues to publish documents revealing the fact of the regular supply to German submarines from the warehouse of Mr. Kallimassiotis, Deputy of the Piræus in the Greek Chamber during the Gounaris-Skouloudis Ministry. The Deputy, at present in hiding, has written both to the *Hestia* and to the *Nea-Hellas* that the let-

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ters are apocryphal. Unfortunately for Mr. Kallimassiotis, the night raid by the Allied police of the Deputy's premises in the Piræus has placed a lot of valuable information in the possession of the French admiral. Mr. Kallimassiotis and his agents must be regretting to-day that the communications were not merely by word of mouth—*Scripta manent, verba volant.*

One letter, No. 62, reads:

PIRÆUS, April 2, 1916.

Mr. Paléologos Patras:

M. le ministre has charged me to felicitate you, but be very prudent, because we have learned that you have provoked the suspicions of many agents of the Allied propaganda, who are following you closely. On our side we are being closely watched so that it is impossible to act as before.

(Signed) Kallimassiotis.

An earlier communication in September, 1915, concerns the dispatch of twenty cases of benzine, and assures the recipient that it is impossible for any one to discover the means of transport employed. Other letters are to agents at Patras and Volo, and in Crete, Rethymo, Heracleion, and Canea, and show how widespread the agency was. Some of the papers state to-day that as a result of the revelations of the raid on Kallimassiotis's premises, the Ministers of the Entente have demanded the expulsion of the German, Austrian, Bulgarian, and Turkish Ministers and Consuls. Monsieur Passaroff, the Bulgarian Minister, an elderly man, questioned yesterday by a newspaper man, said: "I have heard nothing about it, but if it is true, intercede for me with the English Minister for a comfortable cabin for the journey, because I suffer with rheumatism."

The *Patris* to-day (November 9) publishes nineteen more letters now in the hands of the Allied police of the correspondence of Mr. Kallimassiotis. They involve agents in various ports of Greece and the islands, and primarily the German Consul in the Piræus and "Monsieur le ministre," presumably the German Minister in Athens. Without the connivance of those high in authority in Athens it is impossible that the organization for the supply of the German submarines could have continued its work with impunity for so long, in spite of all the efforts of the Allies to check it, efforts which at last have been crowned with success.

In the *Embros* there appeared this morning an interview or rather statement given by Mr. Paxton Hibben, the American correspondent of the Associated Press, to an editor of the *Embros*. The editor, after paying a compliment to the luminous convictions of Mr. Παξτων Χίμπεν, gives a long statement by Mr. Hibben, who has recently returned from Ekaterini, expressing his opinions formed from his experiences there.

The *Embros* at one time was Venizelist; on a cash basis it went over in twenty-four hours to the pro-German and Court party, and has been noted since for its falsification of facts, its gross adulation of the King, and its abuse of Venizelos and the Allies. To find such a statement as that printed in the *Embros* by the correspondent of the Associated Press excited my wonder, and knowing that the paper represents the worst features of the venal press here, I called on Mr. Hibben at the Palace Hotel to find out if it was genuine. Mr. Hibben informed me that it was, but that the *Embros* had made omissions that qualified the statements made, and that he would give a further statement in the *Hestia*, a Liberal evening paper, to restore those omissions.

Mr. Hibben has had nine years' experience in the diplomatic service, and in that service many men seem to lose their belief in the genuineness of ideals. While recognizing his courtesy and wide information I regretted for the sake of Greece, in this all critical juncture of her affairs—when the powers of light and darkness are literally contending for supremacy—that he who is responsible for so much of the news about Greece that is presented to the American public, should apparently be indifferent to the aim and endeavor of Venizelos and the Liberal party, and that he should have retained, after a stay of fourteen months in Greece, a favorable impression of the King and a certain credence in his policy and honesty.

I can only see in the King a dull-headed Dane of Levantine cunning, Greek only in his faults and without the Greek virtues, depending on the protection of his royal relatives, the Queen mother in Petrograd (did not Prince Demidoff, the Russian minister, assure him his dynasty ran no danger?), and dowager Queen Alexandra. The latter's telegram, warning her nephew to obey the Allies, has become common knowledge here.

A Greek gentleman last night, who has great business connections, and who is an earnest patriot, said to me somewhat bitterly: "The people know here that Venizelos is only supported by the Allies as far as he promotes indirectly their interests," and on my return from the Piræus the other day with three French officers in the train, when I expressed my regret that France had not a completely free hand for action that would meet with the general approval of the people, one of them remarked: "Nous reconnaissons dans le roi un ennemi, mais que voulez vous? il faut ménager nos amis les Alliés."

In our short interview, when Mr. Hibben commended the King, I could only reply that my sympathies went to the Greek newsboy of fifteen now undergoing a sentence of six months in jail—and such a jail!—"for speaking irreverently of the King" as stated by the Correctional Tribunal of Athens that passed judgment, sentencing at the same time a man to twelve months' imprisonment "for speaking irreverently of his Majesty." Under the present King's Government a boy of fifteen, for telling the truth, is condemned for six months to be deprived of his liberty and his means of livelihood, and to endure bad food, vermin, confinement, and inaction, while the paid adulators and sycophants in the Athens press swagger in and out of the best restaurants. And as an American, not as a diplomat, Mr. Hibben sympathized with my indignation.

The Russian Minister, Prince Demidoff, gave a dinner early in the week, at which were present the King and Queen, Sir Francis Elliot, Monsieur Guillemin, and, most amazing of all, Mr. Georges Streit, the pro-German, the close friend of the King, and occult member of the Government. A strange love feast! But then the King is supposed to have "climbed down." Venizelos's house has become a recruiting bureau under General Corakus. The secretary of the bureau told me last night that it sends 500 men to-morrow to Salonica, that 300 left earlier in the week, and that the rate of enlistments has doubled since the torpedoing of the Angheliki and Kiki-Isaiah. The secretary, Mr. Kostantarakis, is a Cretan, tall, athletic, spare, intensely in earnest, devoted to Greece and Venizelos and, like another Cretan friend I met in Venizelos's house, Mr. George Papandreon, now Governor of Mytilene, impresses one by his manliness, simplicity, and earnestness. Both are young men, who in their outh in an American college would by their uild have been found on the football team. To the eager American reader, thirsting for information of the Presidential election, the apers announce that Mr. Χουγκ has been elected. The Hestia comes nearest to an approximate rendering of the name in Mr. Χιουσ (Hughes), but the latest news makes it appear that Mr. 'Ουιλσον (Wilson) has defeated his opponent. But for America "Con gallo o senza gallo, Dio fa venir il giorno."

Athens, November 9.

The Vision of a "Central Europe"

By GUSTAV POLLAK.

Few polemical books written during the present war have called for serious criticism. When passion shrieks, reason can only be silent. Friedrich Naumann's "Mitteleuropa,"* however, stands in some respects in a class by itself. A fervent economic plea for Germany's future expansion, it is but indirectly concerned with the present clash of arms and ignores international hatreds. The book, which has had an extraordinary vogue throughout Germany and Austria-Hungary, is now obtainable in an English translation (faithful, though by no means flawless) to which Prof. W. J. Ashley has written an introduction. He speaks of it as "far and away the most important book that has appeared in Germany since the world-conflict began." Such a success challenges thought, even aside from the intrinsic merits of the work. It will therefore not be superfluous to examine in detail the arguments that have made so powerful an appeal to German and Austro-Hungarian readers.

Herr Naumann is a member of the Reichstag and author of a number of books. His career shows strange mutations of principle—religious, political, and economic. Originally a Lutheran pastor and Socialistic evangelist, he abandoned the pulpit for journalism and politics. He founded *Die Hilfe*, and through this journal and his book on "Demokratie und Kaisertum" attempted to reconcile the tenets of Social-Democracy with the prevailing furore for naval and colonial expansion. The National-Socialist party being unable to obtain representation in the Reichstag, Herr Naumann allied himself with the *Volkspartei*, which derived its strength mainly from the middle-class radicals of southern Germany. As an ardent free-trader and advocate of certain definite legislative measures, he succeeded in gain-

**Mitteleuropa.* Von Friedrich Naumann. Berlin: Georg Reimer.

Central Europe. By Friedrich Naumann. Translated by Christabel M. Meredith. London: P. S. King & Son.

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ing a seat in the Reichstag, where he attempted to fuse several minor radical groups into a wing of the Liberal party. In a book written at that time, his "Neudeutsche Wirtschaftspolitik," he predicted the political and social regeneration of Germany through unrestricted intercourse with other countries. Such was Herr Naumann's past political philosophy; what is his present creed?

Briefly speaking, Naumann advocates, one may say he foretells, as in a prophetic vision, a combination—it is nowhere directly called an alliance—between the German Empire and the Hapsburg Monarchy, offensive and defensive, economic and military, into which as many neutral states as possible may and should, as a matter of self-interest, eventually enter. The adhesion of Turkey and the Balkan states is taken for granted. The advantages of such a superstate to the neutral countries which are to join their maritime front to the territory of the Central Powers, specifically to Holland, Greece, Rumania, and the Scandinavian countries, are but vaguely alluded to—for prudential reasons dictated by the war. The main purpose of the formation of this "Central Europe" is, as frankly admitted by the author, the greater good of the two principal countries, Germany and Austria-Hungary. Without committing himself to any definite plan for the organization of this vast state, Herr Naumann tentatively puts forth a programme which he says statesmen of the future may modify at their pleasure. This includes common recruiting laws, mutual military inspection, a joint committee for foreign affairs, joint boards for the control of railways and of river navigation, common coins and measures, common banking and commercial laws, common military expenditures, mutual liability for national debts, equality of customs tariffs, joint collection of customs, equal laws for the protection of labor, equal laws of association and trust laws, etc. There may or may not be eventually free trade between Germany and the group of states that are to join her, but the bond of cohesion between them will primarily be a political one. Economic considerations will adjust themselves to their common political interests.

In the programme thus outlined the need of permanent preparedness for war is repeatedly emphasized. Hence regulation of the storage of grain becomes a matter of paramount importance. This and similar measures Herr Naumann would entrust to several commissions, which he proposes to locate as follows: Budapest is to be the grain centre, Prague the centre for all treaty matters, Hamburg the centre of the maritime trade, Berlin the exchange centre, and Vienna the legal centre. But it is only after peace has been declared that it will be possible to formulate a definite programme, and the gist of such a programme can, in Herr Naumann's opinion, be summed up in two words: "better organization." It was Prussian organization that paved the way for the successes of this war, and if, says he, the opponents of Germany like to label the intrinsic connection between the works of peace and those of war as "German militarism," they are welcome to it. The wholesome effect of Prussian military discipline pervades, in his view, the whole of Germany from top to bottom.

Enthusiastic to the point of rhapsody as Herr Naumann is over his project, he does not wholly ignore the difficulties of its execution. He realizes that the Government of Austria-Hungary may have to be argued and cajoled into a partnership in which that country is bound to be the weaker member. Germany will have to make it clear that there is no thought of interfering with the internal affairs of the Hapsburg Monarchy, and that the delicate questions of race and language which have so long agitated that country would be let alone by the Germany of Central Europe.

What is to be the geographical extent of this powerful congeries of states? It is Herr Naumann's ambition to see Central Europe comprise about 5,000,000 square miles, that is to say, one-tenth of the inhabited surface of the globe. He arrives at his estimate by a series of daring steps. Starting with the 450,000 square miles of Germany and Austria-Hungary, he adds, first, the 900,000 square miles of "a number of neighboring European states," and then "claims" all of European and Asiatic Turkey, thereby swelling the figures to 2,500,000 square miles. Add the colonies of the German Empire and you have 4,000,000 square miles, and "if we venture to count in the overseas possessions of neighboring states which have not yet joined us, we may arrive at approximately 5,000,000 square miles"—a figure which he admits is "somewhat arbitrary." The population of this Central Europe, beginning with the 116,000,000 inhabitants of the German Empire and Austria-Hungary, will, in the manner described, mount up to about 200,000,000, or, roughly, one-eighth of the population of the globe.

Fantastic as this programme seems to be, it is undeniable that Herr Naumann's teachings are spreading, and will have to be reckoned with in the future. Already Austrian and German trade unions have given their adhesion to the plan, and even councils of German and Austrian Socialists have approved of it. So conservative a German economist as Professor von Schmoller is arguing that the present time urgently calls for close tariff arrangements with Austria-Hungary, and that "the leading men of nearly all classes and parties are gradually meeting under this flag." Naumann himself foresees certain objections within Germany itself. He fears that his scheme will be viewed with suspicion by Prussian nobles, the conservative, powerful, and domineering (herrschaftsstarke) Old Prussian, as well as the "Liberal capitalist," who, though for opposite reasons, equally distrusts Austria-Hungary. To these two types must be added the "Greater-Germans," whose ideal is a purely Germanic state, and who are already groaning under the burden of the Poles, Danes, and French Alsatians of the Empire.

Herr Naumann, furthermore, realizes that the Magyars are not in love with the Germans, but he relies on their keen desire to retain their supremacy over the Slavs, and reasons that they will grasp at anything Germany may offer them to attain their ends. From a purely economic point of view, Austria-Hungary and the other members of the Central European combination are to be won over by a system of mutual tariff preferences which shall protect the industrially weaker countries.

Herr Naumann, it must be admitted, presents his case with considerable skill. He writes picturesquely and, in the main, clearly and forcibly. His occasional sentimental outbursts, and the studied vagueness to which German writers are so prone, but enhance the interest of the book in German eyes. He is careful not to burden his readers needlessly with statistics. These and certain dry historical facts are relegated to a separate chapter at the conclusion of the book.

While Naumann's thesis is apparently a simple one, he finds it necessary to bolster it up with assertions and prophecies of various kinds. We meet at the outset with the statement that there is no room, at the present time, for France in the new Central Europe. Having chosen to ally herself with England, she will, unfortunately for her, "in the near future become a greater and better Portugal." Yet even for her Herr Naumann would leave a door open, perhaps only in a distant future, for, like so many Germans, he professes to harbor no ill-feelings towards France. Italy, too, he does not consider, for all time to come, necessarily ineligible to partnership in Central Europe, though he cautiously adds, "the armies on the Isonzo have the first word." Germany's present ally, Turkey, being "antiquated" and separated from Central Europe, both geographically and nationally, is not hailed with delight as a future partner. But Central Europe will eventually determine the conditions of its own existence. Though Herr Naumann carefully refrains throughout his book from speaking harshly of any of the belligerent nations, there is an unmistakable Bismarckian flavor in some of his arguments. All participants in the Great War must feel that neither now nor in the future can small or even moderate-sized countries have any voice in world politics. "Our conceptions of size have entirely changed, only very large states can assert their individuality, all the little ones live by profiting from the quarrels of the great, and must first ask their permission if they would make an unusual move." The world thinks, as Cecil Rhodes says, "in continents." A generation, Herr Naumann surmises, will be required for the task of establishing Central Europe, even if peace, declared on the basis of victory of the German-Austrian arms, seals the permanent solidarity of the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollern. A shade of doubt as to this solidarity—hardly as to the victory itself—enters even Herr Naumann's mind. "The question will arise: Are the

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Ambassadors from Berlin, Vienna, and Budapest going to leave the hall of the National Peace Congress as open and honest friends or as secret opponents?" If peace is only to pave the way for future misunderstandings, Europe will face another Vienna Congress of 1815. "In that case, for what shall we have sacrificed our sons and the mutilated Hungarians their limbs?" A perplexing question, indeed! As dangerous as the admission that after the conclusion of peace "we all shall be more careful than hitherto to suppress frivolous pretexts for war and to strive for a mutual understanding between nations."

For Herr Naumann, as for every German and Austro-Hungarian, the war began "purely as a defensive one," though in the same breath he tells us that "in the German Empire two ideas had always been present in the minds of the people and the Government: that sooner or later a break with the Czar was bound to come, and that some time there would have to be a fight with England for the control of the seas. The only unexpected thing was that all came together with a rush—the war in France, the war in the East, and the naval war."

Leaving aside Herr Naumann's speculations as to the origin of the war, it is worth while to raise some doubts as to the feasibility of his plans after its conclusion. Economic considerations are certainly powerful factors in the development of modern nations, but all statesmen must reckon with the facts of human nature. Nations and races will go on with their inborn or cultivated likes and dislikes after the war as before. It becomes necessary to remind those who so glibly assume Austria-Hungary's willingness to listen to Germany's siren voice after the war that the mutual jealousies of Austria and Prussia are of very long standing, and have not been wholly interrupted by the present war. It was Frederick II who inaugurated the systematic policy of weakening Austria in order to strengthen Prussia. Conversely, Joseph II sought to recover Austria's prestige by isolating Prussia and regaining new territory, whether in the East or in the West. Thenceforth there was mutual distrust between the two countries, though Joseph II, immediately after Frederick's death, thought for a moment of burying old animosities and founding an Austro-Prussian alliance which would guarantee the peace of Europe. Prussia, however, soon emphasized her antagonism to Austria by her machinations within the German Empire, at Mainz and Worms, while Joseph II turned to Russia as the natural friend of Austria. Under Metternich's régime the mutual jealousies were accentuated. He rejected contemptuously Stein's plan of dividing the overlordship of Austria and Prussia in Germany along the lines of the Main. Metternich was shortsighted enough to think, even after the disappearance of the Holy Roman Empire, that Austria might guide the destinies of both Germany and Italy, and he called the Congress of Vienna together with this end in view. Prussia never ceased to watch her opportunities, and knew how to bide her time.

Bismarck, who is generally credited with the authorship of the plan for a Central Europe, tells us in his "Gedanken und Erinnerungen" that he never thought, in the days of the German Bund, while advocating the union of all Germany on a dualistic basis, of anything but Prussian hegemony. He frankly told Count Károlyi, the Austrian Ambassador, in 1862: "Our relations must either improve or grow worse. You will learn to deal with us [Prussia] as a European Power." Throughout his career Bismarck never lost his contempt for Austria, though after the war of 1866, foreseeing the Franco-German War of 1870, he shrewdly insisted on treating Austria leniently in order to secure at least her passive attitude towards Germany later on. Austrians still remember Silesia and Sadowa, and they have not grown fonder of Prussia during the present war. Both Austrians and Hungarians complain, as Herr Naumann admits, of the German, and especially the Prussian, want of consideration, of their overbearing manners, etc. "Modern Germans," he says, "are almost everywhere bad Germanizers." "Why is it," he naïvely asks, "that we Germans of the Empire are during this war so little liked by the rest of the world?"

The question which he leaves unanswered was discussed at some length during the Franco-Prussian War in an editorial article* in this journal at a time when the *Nation*, like the rest of the most thoughtful organs of public opinion throughout the United States, was strongly on the side of Germany. Its remarks are pertinent at the present time:

> As to Prussia's habitual want of popularity, it is one of the most curious phenomena in modern history. Prussia has invariably been disliked, not only by her enemies, but by her very friends and allies. The Poles, of course, hate her (and who would blame them for that?), but even the Russians dislike her, notwithstanding the intimacy and relationship of the two sovereigns. So do the Austrians, so did the Bavarians and Württembergers, the Dutch and the Danes, the English and the Italians, and their dislike seems to have nothing to do with political jealousies or grievances. Nor do the French form an exception to the rule, although it is but fair to say that before the war at least there was nothing personal even in their *chauvinism*. There must, of course, be some real and tangible reason for all this. It is natural enough that, when once a prejudice exists against a country, the stranger who visits or traverses it can rarely be in a proper condition of mind for steering clear of difficulties and scrapes, and these difficulties will enhance rather than correct his prejudices. But we can hardly call prejudice a natural aversion to what must appear forbidding and ungenial to everybody not rendered callous by life-long habit. The bureaucratic hardships of Prussian officials, and the rigid compulsory method with which Prussia enforces the acceptance of her gifts and her protection, as well as of her burdens, are certainly not calculated to beget good will, and we can hardly wonder if Prussia enjoys the strange distinction of being disliked by a good many of her own people, who would willingly allow themselves to be educated, vaccinated, taxed, and drilled, but who either object to the official *modus operandi* or are anxious to sell their obedience for a fair measure of constitutional rights.

Nation, Oct. 20, 1870. "Popular Notions of Prussia."

Herr Naumann quotes the experience of the North-German Confederation, before 1870, in its dealings with South Germany, as an example of how easy it was to overcome the scruples of Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, etc., concerning a closer union with Prussia; but he has to admit that they had maintained before the Franco-German War an attitude of distrust towards Prussia which even now has not wholly disappeared. "The Berliner was in their eyes long an alien, and is so in part even to-day." If Germany is defeated, Prussia will be less an object of veneration in South German eyes than ever before; but even if she is victorious, will the feelings between South Germans and Prussians be all that may be desired? Will there be unmixed mutual respect and due appreciation of what each has accomplished to bring about victory? Prussia's preponderance in Central Europe will be far greater than her present dominance in Germany. What will Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden have gained to compensate them for sinking into positions of relatively greater inferiority than they had been chafing under before the war? Herr Naumann sees only a benign thought in the "controlling concept (Oberbegriff) of a Central Europe dominating over Germans, French, Danes, and Poles in the German Empire, over the Magyars, Germans, Rumans, Slovaks, Croats, and Serbs in Hungary, over Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, and Southern Slavs in Austria." All these will "of their own acord (von selbst)" speak German—as though Naumann had never heard of bloody riots in Bohemia over the question of using the dual languages in schools, in law courts, etc., and as though Prussia had not, according to Prince Bülow, failed utterly in her attempts to impose the German language with an iron hand on the recalcitrant school children of Posen. Nothing, however, appears difficult to the sentimentalist in politics. In Herr Naumann's eyes it is the easiest thing in the world for Vienna and Berlin to supplement each other, with great advantage to both. "We," he says, addressing himself to Austrians, "have more horsepower, and you more music. We think more in terms of quantity, the best of you rather in terms of quality. If we can fuse our respective abilities, then and for the first time what is harsh in modern German civilization will acquire through your assistance that touch of charm which will make it tolerable to the outside world." How simple a process this fusion ("zusammengiessen") appears to be in the delightful vagueness of Herr Naumann's pages!

And even if Austrians and Germans allow themselves to be carried away by such glit-

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tering phrases, the sober-minded Hungarians may in due time be trusted to look at the situation after the war with a keen eye to their own interests. The Magyars have never fully relished the union with Austria, and, no matter what their present attitude may be, they will never allow the Dual Monarchy to enter into any scheme that may threaten to interfere with their future freedom of action. Herr Naumann assumes that under German influence the plains of Hungary will become much more productive. They may, indeed, but how will that influence be exerted without wounding the susceptibilities of the proud Magyars? Already we hear of fierce protests in the Hungarian Diet against the insolent interference of German purchasers of Hungarian farms. Will the Hungarian peasantry be less resentful after the war? Count Széchenyi, "the greatest Magyar," as he is sometimes called by his countrymen, said in the Diet of 1843: "How does a nation come to possess the force and virtue necessary for its political action? If the majority of the individuals composing it are to fulfil humanely and honorably their appointed task, they must acquire, above all, the art of pleasing, the faculty of attracting and absorbing the neighboring elements. Is it likely that a people will possess this faculty who will not respect in others that which it insists on having respected in itself? It is a great art to know how to win men's hearts." Unless the Prussians of Central Europe shall draw the Magyars to their hearts more easily than they have drawn to themselves their South-German brothers, the future of Central Europe must remain dubious.

A mere hint at the numberless problems which would confront the Slavs of Hungary and Cisleithania under the scheme of a Central Europe must suffice. A strengthening of German influence, in whatever shape, and however disguised, must inevitably entail a weakening of Slavic power, and such a scheme will therefore arouse suspicion and resentment among the Slavs within Central Europe. The mutual relations of other nationalities that will be asked to join Germany, Herr Naumann conveniently ignores. Rumania, for instance, may or may not disappear from the map of Europe as a consequence of the war; in either case, will the Rumans of Hungary be better satisfied to remain under Magyar rule, with German overlordship, than they have been hitherto? Will the Magyars themselves be more kindly disposed towards them? Will the Ruthenians of Galicia dislike the Poles less, and love the Teutons more, in a new superstate? But everything seems to fit into Herr Naumann's scheme. Yet, though Bulgarians and Serbs may be only Slavs to him, and therefore destined to be thrown into a common melting-pot, their national characteristics and differences will outlast the war. The Bulgarians are a practical and energetic people, not given to boasting of their ancestry, like the Serbs. They may, or may not, have made a mistake in casting in their lot with the Teutons, but their future still lies largely in their own hands. They may desert Germany, as they have deserted Russia. What will be the feeling of the Serbs of Hungary towards Germany? Each Balkan race will survive the war at least to the extent of being able to plague its neighbors. And who can foretell whither, in the readjustment of Europe after the peace, the forces of a former Panslavism will tend? Will Poles, Serbs, and Bulgars fraternize under the common ægis of a Central Europe? A stroke of the pen has resuscitated the ancient Kingdom of Poland—minus Galicia and Posen—but the fortunes of war may wipe it off the scrap of paper on which the two Emperors signed their edict.

So far the war has settled nothing, though what the rule of blood and iron can accomplish, Germany under Prussian rule has accomplished. Prussian generals have won new glory for Prussian military efficiency. But in proportion as they have succeeded, they have sown the seeds of envy and dislike in the rest of Germany and in Austria-Hungary. Political prognostications of writers and statesmen and even Imperial rescripts have turned out poor prophecies before this. Naumann sees in the Germany of to-day a "half-finished product," but Central Europe is to develop somehow the fairest flower of modern civilization—"a type of man intermediate between Frenchmen, Italians, Turks, Russians, Scandinavians, and Englishmen"—and all this is to "grow around Teutonism." Such is the fabric of his dream.

At bottom, stripped of all its fine phrases, Herr Naumann's gospel of the great transformation is the old familiar one of coercion—friendly coercion, by open flattery and half-veiled insinuation, but still coercion. He admits that for Austria-Hungary to enter the Central European combination will involve "a certain sacrifice—not to be regarded lightly—of economic independence and of her rights as a free state" (her "staatsrechtliche Ungebundenheit"), but, he finally says in cold blood, "the transaction is necessary, according to all teaching of history, to the further continuance of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy."

And the continuance of the Hapsburg Monarchy is in doubt because in the chain of his reasoning the continuance of wars is impliedly assumed as axiomatic. Free as he is from the chauvinism of a Bernhardi or a Reventlow, there is no proof, in his plea for a Central Europe, that he believes in the march of political progress, in the humanizing and liberalizing influences that are already at work in other countries to make further wars impossible, or at least more difficult than hitherto. He no more reads the thought of the best elements of Germany than he understands the inmost feelings of Austria-Hungary—not to speak of England, France, and America. But though the mind of Prussia may remain unchanged after the war, must we assume that the soul of German-Austrians, Magyars, and Slavs is bound to undergo a complete transformation?

Notes from the Capital

GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.

The criticism passed by George F. Edmunds, in the midst of the late Presidential campaign, upon Richard Olney's defence of President Wilson's Administration was the first considerable utterance that has been heard for a good while from one who was for several years the most distinguished member of the United States Senate. He was commonly known, during the later part of his service in that body, as "Saint Jerome," owing to his bald head with its narrow fringe of white hair, his white moustache and beard, his tall, angular, and ascetically lean frame, the universally recognized cleanness of his public and private life, and the serious and deliberative air he bore always about with him. Even while he was a new member, and only thirty-eight years of age, he was so mature in aspect that he was set down among the "old men" of Congress.

Edmunds was a great lawyer, and undoubtedly would have made a great judge; but his tastes led him into constructive rather than judicial lines. He entertained the strongest of likes and dislikes as to men, and cherished the Northern New Englander's typical equipment of "respectable prejudices" regarding things; and the frankness with which he let his opinions on all conspicuous issues be known was rivalled only by his unemotional manner of expressing them. He had not an explosive or theatrical strain anywhere in his composition, and his earnest desire was to be fair even where he could not be neutral. Many observers wondered how a man of his breadth could have led the ill-fated fight in the Senate, at the beginning of Cleveland's first Administration, to compel the President to avow why he had removed a certain Federal officeholder in the South; but no one need have been astonished at that who had taken the trouble to recall Johnson's Administration and note that Edmunds had charge of the Tenure of Office bill in its passage through the Senate—a measure involving practically the same restrictive principle. This illustration of his steadfastness to an ideal was well reflected in his attitude towards the question of admitting Colorado to Statehood. The Republican party demanded her admission because it needed two more votes in the Senate, and every one who did not know Edmunds very intimately expected him, as a stanch party man, to support the demand. He resisted all appeals, however, because the Constitution adopted by Colorado limited the elective franchise to white citizens, and he would not consent to such discrimination against the negroes. Nothing could induce him to work for Blaine's election to the Presidency, because he had become convinced that the candidate allowed private advantage to influence his public conduct. He did not make this charge in so many words, but, when reproached by a friend for not entering into the campaign as Senator Hawley had done, for the party's sake, his response was: "As a public speaker I could not say that I believed certain things that I did not believe; but Gen. Hawley had beliefs that I had not, and so he could honestly say so. Neither you nor any other upright Republican could wish me to stand up in the presence of our countrymen and there tell a

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falsehood or prevaricate in aid of any cause, however good."

It was his tact, displayed even in the most vital disagreements, which preserved for him the friendship of honorable men against whom he felt it necessary to take sides. Grant had always a very warm regard for him in spite of his leading share in the fight against the annexation of Santo Domingo; and Cleveland never failed, in reviewing past political struggles, to pay his tribute of respect to the patriotism and sound judgment of his one-time antagonist. Conkling, past-master in domineering ways, had more than one passage at arms with him on the Senate floor; and once, irritated by the persistency with which Edmunds forced him into a corner in a matter of grave difference, threw out the characteristic sneer: "Mr. President, the Senator from Vermont must see the ineffectiveness of such reasoning as he has just put forth. He is wasting his strength in fighting a windmill!" Edmunds, without a change of expression, but slowly turning his eyes towards Conkling and surveying him from head to foot, addressed the Chair in his turn.

"I realize it, Mr. President," was all he said; but it was enough to end that phase of the discussion at once, amid laughter even from the Senators who were supporting Conkling's views.

Once in a while Edmunds would admit, at the close of an incident, that the joke was on him. One instance was when he had interested himself much in behalf of a poor widow to whose husband the Government was owing a small sum of money at the time of his death. The woman, having vainly tried to collect the claim herself, induced the rector of the church she attended to appeal to Senator Edmunds. As usual in the rare cases when the Senator espoused a private cause, both houses voted a relief appropriation on the mere strength of his reputation. The widow was profuse in her expressions of gratitude, and the Senator was feeling great satisfaction in having driven the wolf from her door when her rector bethought himself, a month or so later, to ask her how she had disposed of her fund. "My poor husband," she answered, with effusion, "never had a tombstone over his grave; but when I knew Mr. Edmunds had taken hold of my bill, I bought one, and the money I got from Congress has pretty nearly paid for it."

Though not a model penman himself, Edmunds was at times somewhat critical of the handwriting of others, among them his kinsman, Aaron Maynard, to whom he once mailed a typewritten letter saying:

Dear Aaron:
About two weeks ago I received what I suspect is a letter from you, but having been as yet unable to decipher the writing, I have not arrived at the purport of the communication, therefore cannot intelligently send an answer. However, I was glad to hear from you. Love to all.
Yours, GEORGE F. EDMUNDS, per C.

Maynard was equal to the occasion and responded:

Dear George:
Yours received. I never questioned your inability to write intelligently, and, while I know I write a wretched hand, I am thankful I am not obliged to hire somebody else to write for me. Love to you and yours.
A. B. M.

During the twenty-five years that have elapsed since Edmunds retired from the Senate, he has never lost touch with public affairs. As the actual author of the so-called "Sherman" Anti-Trust act in the form in which it finally reached the statute book, he has, of course, taken a lively interest in watching the fruition of his conception, and has had not a little to say in comment on various efforts to amend the law. He was opposed to the war with Spain, to the annexation of the Philippines, to the popular election of Senators, and to sundry other radical departures from the lines of the Constitution as framed. The last half-dozen years he has passed chiefly in Southern California, whither he removed to escape from the harsher climate of the East; and the remark of all who see him is that there are few Americans, even a good deal younger than eighty-eight, who study the progress of events with his keen analytic powers. Certainly there are few indeed who emulate his habit of reading the *Congressional Record* every day of his life.

TATTLER.

Academic Freedom

PROFESSOR LOVEJOY'S CRITICISM OF PROFESSOR WIGMORE'S PROPOSALS AND THE LATTER'S REPLY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have read the paper on "Academic Freedom of Utterance" with interest, and with some agreement, but not much. My dissent relates to the three principal contentions. Let me try to make clear briefly the reasons for it.

I. The starting-point of the analogy—*i. e.*, the immunity of judges—seems to me to omit so much that is essential as to be likely to mislead most readers. There are two parts to the story of judicial responsibility. This tells only one part, and that the one which is least apposite to the comparison with the case of professors. A judge might conceivably be called to account for improper or unjudicial conduct on the bench in either of two ways: (1) He might be subject to civil action on the part of the person injured by his conduct. From this he is, in fact, immune. But here there is little or no analogy to the situation of university teachers. Professors do not, as a rule, do legal injury to individuals in their lectures or scientific books; and when they do there is no reason why the usual legal remedies should not be open to those injured. (2) The other conceivable way in which a judge guilty of misconduct on the bench might be brought to book would be by trial under articles of impeachment, and from this he is, in fact, *not* immune in American law. And it is this type of proceeding which bears some analogy to the bringing of charges of incompetency or unprofessional conduct against professors—charges which would lead to dismissal if sustained. The legal analogy thus points to precisely the opposite conclusion to that which is drawn in Mr. Wigmore's article.

II. It seems to me clearly undesirable that university teachers should enjoy any such sweeping immunity as is suggested even in their utterances within their own specialties. Such a rule would mean that our profession would have no means of maintaining its own professional standards, at precisely the point where it is most important to maintain them. It is true, as Mr. Wigmore suggests, that lay boards of trustees cannot safely exercise control over the methods and opinons of specialists—for the reason that they lack competency (except with regard to charges of gross misconduct and neglect of duty), and that their motives would never be exempt from suspicion. But the way out is simple. There should be judicial committees of members of the academic profession—primarily in the local faculties, with, perhaps, eventually some system of appeal to committees of the Association—before whom, on sufficiently grave occasion, charges could be brought, somewhat after the fashion of impeachment trials.

III. On the other hand, I cannot agree that governing boards should have any such extensive powers of control as suggested over the actions and utterances of professors beyond the limits of their specialties. My reasons for this are two:

(1.) The consequence does not follow from the analogy. The "person wielding appointive powers," in the case of judges, does *not* expect, or obtain, "some substantial harmony of views with his" in the extra-judicial opinions or utterances of the judges he appoints. A Federal judge is exempt from control by the President in his decisions, but he is also exempt from control by the President in his purely personal expressions and in his activities off the bench. Here, again, then, the analogy points, not to the conclusion given, but to the opposite conclusion.

(2.) In any case, the matter ought not to be settled by analogy, but by a consideration of the way the proposed rule would work in the actual class of cases to which it is proposed to apply it. And it is clear that it would work badly. For it would, *e. g.*, make it possible for trustees who wished to eliminate from an institution an economist of whose economic views they disapproved, to dismiss him because of an allegation of disagreement between their views and his own on political science or on the theory of evolution. This attempt is not only possible, but is what constantly tends to occur. The motive for a dismissal, and the reason officially given for it, are frequently two very different things. To admit that the appointing authorities can rightfully demand of a university teacher "some substantial harmony of views with their own," outside of the teacher's own special province, is to give up all practical possibility of maintaining academic freedom. One may use here an argument similar to the one early advanced in Mr. Wigmore's paper: in order effectually to protect the investigator *within* his special province, you must protect him outside of it also.

On three points, however, I heartily agree:

(a) The importance of the distinction between appointees and employees, with a recognition that this distinction is instructively illustrated in the case of judges.

(b) The importance of emphasizing the fact that governing boards hold a public trust, and are not at liberty to use their power to enforce their private preferences.

(c) The view that university teachers should not run for public office (except, perhaps, minor local offices), or be prominent in partisan politics.

A. O. LOVEJOY.

Johns Hopkins University, December 8.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I offer the following answers to Professor Lovejoy's dissent:

I. The civil suit against a judge is, I still

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maintain, analogous to the attack on a professor's unpopular doctrines; for the main feature of both is that the complaint is lodged by a person offended by the doctrine, and that it is tried before a tribunal of persons who are likely to share the same sense of offence. Whether the doctrine affect politics or economics or religion, the person attacking is one whose creed has been personally offended; and whether the triers be trustees of an endowment or regents of a State university, the same prejudices that have led to the charge are likely to be represented in many or most of the triers. Hence, the danger of harassment, against which the rule of immunity protects, is just as great, or greater, even though the precise form of the suit is not the same.

It may be conceded that, if a well-constructed process of impeachment were available for professors, as it is for judges, the professor should not be immune from such process of impeachment, any more than is the judge. But no such process exists. What are the essentials of impeachment? A tribunal of responsible officers, in an independent branch of Government, disinterested in the judicial powers, and having ordinarily neither control of them nor subjection to them; a specific charge, formulated after inquiry by one branch of the Legislature as prosecutor, and presented before the other branch as a tribunal, upon evidence publicly produced, with counsel to argue. Here are safeguards for a definiteness of charge, an ampleness of proof, and an impartiality of judgment. Whenever such a process is provided for a professor, no one will ask that he be immune from it, any more than a judge is. But at present there exists no such process. Its recognition in the judicial field suggests that it ought to exist for professors; but this concession leaves unimpaired the analogy between the judges and the professor's immunity from any other kind of ill-ordered attack. Mr. Lovejoy himself points out (in his paragraph II) that a suitable method could be devised, "somewhat after the fashion of impeachment trials," of disciplining a misguided and unworthy scholar before "judicial committees of members of the academic profession." Precisely. Before such a tribunal he should have no immunity.

II. (1.) Mr. Lovejoy's criticism, answering my suggestion that "the person wielding appointive powers" ordinarily expects "some substantial harmony of views with his" on the part of the appointee, asserts that the case of appointive judges is an exception which spoils the inference. He is correct in noting that the appointing President or Governor has no further legal control over the appointed judge. But my assertion was that the university boards have also morally abdicated "that kind of power which they would otherwise feel entitled to exercise." They *have* abdicated it, I say; the President has lost it *legally;* the boards have lost it *morally;* but both have lost it. And I offer this fact merely as suggesting a reason why the professor also may and should feel reconciled to abdicating something of his extreme liberty, in exchange for that other power which the boards have given up.

However, I admit that this is not the only nor the strongest argument on which to base the professor's partial surrender of his liberty as citizen. That strongest argument is, in brief, the preservation of the university's lofty position in public confidence, as an impartial devotee of truth. When the professor speaks out to the public, the public tends to personify the university in him. Any reader of the newspaper will notice how the reporters constantly couple such utterances with the name and fame of the university. When the professor goes on the stump of partisan politics, the name of the university is inevitably (in most instances) dragged into the conflict of partisan emotions. In the public mind, it ceases to stand apart as a disinterested cloister of truth-seekers. To this extent the due reverence for the university is undermined, and its ideal position is injured. Recent events in more than one State university illustrate this. An added damage is that the ever-present tendency of partisan politicians to make the State university their game preserve is stimulated. It is indeed irrational for public opinion to be thus affected. Laymen should not measure their respect for university authority in scholarship and science by their disrespect for particular members as citizens. But they often commit this error. And in the long run this consequence, however unmerited, must be guarded against. Similarly, a clergyman, to maintain general respect for the Church's religious influence, must refrain from some things which as layman he might have done.

To draw the line and define the activities which would bring this detriment is not easy; and a rule which would serve for one university might not serve for another. What counts is not so much a particular instance as a habit, or a series of striking instances, not so much any one forbidden issue as the local bitterness of feeling, varying in time and place. But the line is there somewhere. And the professorial body can afford to try and keep safely within it. And the governing boards, in safeguarding university prestige, may properly expect thus much of professors. The loftiness of university influence in its own field is, therefore, an ideal which should not be impaired by too prominent activities of professors in external controversies.

And this is the principle which justifies us in expecting the professor to sacrifice occasionally some small part of his civic liberty.

(2.) I conclude by pointing out that this ethical duty for a professor to abstain from taking public part in partisan politics does not mean that a board would necessarily be justified in dismissing him on that ground. Boards can and often do better afford, from their point of view, to refrain from exercising their powers in many such cases, because the harm to the general sense of academic freedom would be greater than the harm to university repute. The ethical duty of the professor and the ethical right of the board are not correlative. A certain public act of a professor might be obviously for him a breach of propriety, and yet it might equally be an error for the board to notice it. All of us can recall instances where obvious faults of the kind have properly passed undisciplined.

The true state of things will have arrived when such breaches are disciplined by a judicial committee of the offender's colleagues or of the Association of Univeristy Professors. Such a tribunal would prevent the unbalanced individual from jeopardizing the common interests of university scholars. To such a system of well-ordered self-discipline we may look forward in the not distant future.

JOHN H. WIGMORE.

Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., Dec. 10.

Percy MacKaye

Poems and Plays. By Percy MacKaye. In two volumes. New York: The Macmillan Co. $2 a volume. $3.50 the set.

The "Poems and Plays" of Mr. MacKaye contains all his non-dramatic verse; it includes less than half his dramas. The reader who faces a volume of plays, seriously incomplete, yet of a bulk and awkwardness which completeness alone could justify, is pestered by the double and simultaneous impression that the volume should have been larger and smaller.

It is a querulous reader, however, if his surliness is proof against the breadth and fulness of sunshine and the gay turmoil of checkered life that vivify even the first act of "The Canterbury Pilgrims." Here is a wide hospitality worthy of the generous tradition of the old-time English inn; here is a merriment as constant and at the same time as fickle as its own firelight; and here is a diction that is larder and cellar at once. The blending of wit and fancy in which Mr. MacKaye is sole among his brethren takes us back across the centuries to the times of Elizabeth or across the sea to find its only living counterpart in the "poudre d'astres" with which Rostand sprinkles his captivating pages. This exquisite faculty, rather Latin than Saxon, which crisps and scallops the page of Mr. MacKaye, endears him particularly to the Saxon craving for its own antipode and antidote in literature. He is master of the added gift of a strong blank verse, never of the amplest range or ripest melody, but clear of grain, apt, deft, and keen, of an absolute keeping and an impeccable temperance.

The adventure was of a high temerity. There stood the immortal "Prologue," high masterpiece and rare extract, which it seemed hopeless to re-distil and fatal, if not criminal, to dilute. A middle path must be found between the mendicancy of transcript and the sacrilege of revision. Except in one point to be touched later, I think Mr. MacKaye has been adept in the solution of the double problem of defending himself from Chaucer and Chaucer from himself. His pilgrims are modifications without being falsifications of Chaucer's, and it sorts well with a man whose avowed imitations are more original than his professed novelties that these revitalizations should seem more truly the property of Mr. MacKaye than the shapes for which he is independently responsible. His Chaucer, his Prioress, are delicately retouched, with that fearlessness which was once the margin of reverence, and April's "liquors" blend with Southwark's ale to impregnate the speech of the minor personalities.

The error is the plot. The free and blithe dishevelment of Chaucer ("dischevele, save his cappe, he rood al bare") should not have been snooded or hooded into a vain semblance of modish regularity. Worse than this, the plot is a bad plot, bad through ex-

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cess of virtue, a meticulous, officious, coxcombical plot, in which you are never sure whether the apparent break in the woof means that the thread has snapped on account of brittleness or has vanished from sight through sheer tenuity. I question also the inherent taste of the billings and coo-ings of Chaucer and the Prioress, though the delicacy in indelicacy is incontestable.

"Jeanne D'Arc," a graver play of the same populous and pageant-like type, is touched with winning episodes, but lacks power in its entirety. The basic motive—that of making Jeanne lass as well as saint—is wholly true and beautiful, but the two elements, the childishness and the exaltation, are not strands, but stripes; they are not so much interwoven as interleaved, and the official, the ritualistic, Jeanne has all the dulness proper to these functions. Her love for D'Alençon modernifies, envermeils, a situation which might better have retained its mediæval candor and limpidity. The last act is pitiable rather than pathetic. What shall be said of a prophetess who borrows her faith from a skeptic? We are cloyed with saints and archangels of uncertified validity, and we turn for comfort to finely wrought vignettes and miniatures, such as the painting by the friars on page 100, or the country life of Jeanne, which outvalues her florid visions and prancing victories.

"Sappho and Phaon" shows how literature envelops and permeates Mr. MacKaye. An enthusiast of our time, Medbery, sinks a shaft, figuratively speaking, into the ruins of Herculaneum, to find, not life, but literature—a Roman tragedy, playing in a Roman theatre, and this play, ascribed to Varius about 25 B. C., sinks, in its turn, a shaft into a remoter antiquity, to find again, in Leucas about B. C. 600, not life proper, but literature—Sappho, Alcæus, even Pittacus, if you so please. In the exhibition of these three ledges or levels of time, in the recessive order, Mr. MacKaye employs that high executive faculty in letters which makes this play, with its tragedy, prologue, induction, interludes, epilogue, not so much a masterpiece as an exploit. He converts his pen into a pickaxe; by a species of literary excavation he lays bare a hidden treasure, and the process is exhilarating, especially in the sportive and savory Roman scenes; it is only the treasure whose value is doubtful. "Sappho and Phaon" itself is lifeless. Its love is the chilly Greek love, and Sappho, who is always talking down to her companions and up to herself, is merely the impersonation of her own fame, and as cold as any other allegory. The laconic pregnancy of the earlier Phaon has interest, but his emissions of literature are antipathetic. The plot is again over-plotted. I sometimes fancy Mr. MacKaye as an expert cabinet-maker playing architect, and building a house on the theory that it is a desk or bureau.

"The Scarecrow" is a far higher work. From a New England scarecrow—a literary scarecrow, be it heedfully observed—Mr. MacKaye has educed what is almost the first of American literary plays, far outranking, if my emotion be the test, "The Great Divide" and "The Servant in the House." In an admirable preface, just and grateful to Hawthorne, and modestly courageous in its own claims, Mr. MacKaye tells us how twenty homespun pages of Hawthorne's "Feathertop" in the "Mosses" furnished the cue rather than the ground of a four-act drama of his own in which the originality is as conspicuous as the obligation. The work is as much Mr. MacKaye's as the inherited "Faust" is Goethe's, the borrowed "Hamlet" Shakespeare's. Hawthorne imagined a scarecrow posing as fine gentleman, with the malicious implication that fine gentlemen are often scarecrows in disguise. Mr. MacKaye's probe reaches deeper. The sham that knows it is sham, that wants, that strives, to be real, and in that blind want and pathetic striving achieves a side-splitting and heart-wringing half-reality—to my mind, all human life, all human nature, is compassed in the insight and the beauty and the pathos of that majestically sordid idea. The burlesque, the cynicism, is wrappage merely. I shall best intimate the tenderness of this play by saying that it is as tender as it is ruthless.

I cannot approve the execution in all particulars. Four acts are excessive; one does not serve an olive on a platter. The moral in Act IV is pressed home with a trowel, and throughout, except in the excellent first act, the treatment wavers and weakens between the culminant points, like Ravensbane's own vitality, when the fire slackened in his pipe. But, after all deductions, the thing is worthily and strongly done. The difficulties of the theme are tremendous, and, in a wrestle with the impossible, a drawn battle has all the honor, if not the recompense, of victory. Among the characters, the gentlefolk, who are mostly the plebs in art, are appropriately colorless; but Goody Rickby is drawn with vigor, and Dickon, the admirable imp, revels in that fulness of humanity which art, by an ironic contrast, denies to its gods and lavishes on its devils.

The last play, "Mater," is equally intrepid, but not quite so fortunate. An American woman of our day agrees to marry a "boss," to insure a relative's success in a political contest. This pedestrian theme is handled in the frolic and fantastic spirit of a masque, and the effect resembles that of a Walpurgis-Night festival enacted in full noonday on Boston Common. Mr. MacKaye has thrown down a glove to himself, and the gallantry with which he faces his own challenge has resulted in a "strange diagonal" almost equidistant from triumph and catastrophe. I fancy the dramatist might have carried off the mixture of fantasy and realism, a combination which attracts by its very peril, if he had not borrowed traits from the comedy of manœuvre and misconception, allowing the boss to mistake a mother for her own daughter, and the scheming mother to spin out the always-lengthening and always-weakening thread of imposture through three prevaricating and Jesuitical acts. This plot, however, is subsidiary to the real purpose. The author wishes to contrast a reeking and fulsome virtue, the virtue which is an incentive to vice, with a nature in which the tender affections, the practical instincts, and the poetic fancy flourish together in contempt of moral law. The person in question is adult, woman, and mother, and, while she partakes of the impossibility in which the whole drama is swathed and cradled, she personally abounds in truth and life to a degree that honors her creator and all but rationalizes a madcap play. In one point credulity is wantonly taxed. We consent that Mr. MacKaye's latter-day Americans shall talk in the fashion of the rustics in the "Winter's Tale," but we think that the thankless author abuses our generosity when he lets them talk, in certain literary passages, like the bluestockings in "Les Femmes Savantes."

In the collected lyrics of Mr. MacKaye, I am struck primarily by the varied and lavish outlay of resources whose plenitude is spectacular. The work is alive with enterprise, instinct with conscience. The metre, apart from a few indocilities, is sound and strong, and the artist is conspicuous in those saliencies which lift occasional lines above the common level with the authority and distinction of a pediment. The method is cleanly and firm. The charming image and the happy phrase are equally indigenous to the favored soil in which his fancy ripens its prolific seed. His ethics are replenished from the mountain-springs which fed the unspotted currents of our earlier and purer literature, and his verse is dignified by sayings which have the stature and gesture—I hesitate to add, the substance—of the lastingly memorable word. These resources are abundant; the plant, if I may borrow a technicism from industry, is imposing by its volume and diversity.

In a world in which advantage seems often a mere synonym or pseudonym for drawback, it is hardly surprising that in three-fourths of Mr. MacKaye's verse the power should not correspond with the outlay. Most of these brilliant and exemplary poems are wanting in what I should call neighborhood—neighborhood to the heart; they canopy, but they do not enwrap; they convince, but they fail to persuade. Mr. MacKaye surpasses the forethought of Thetis; his poem is invulnerable to the very heel; only it is not an Achilles.

Among the happy exceptions to this rule are the lyric snatches in the plays which often seem to me winningly Elizabethan in their blithe, swift ascent and speedy reflux. Another fortunate group is that of the narrative idyls, "Fight" and "School," bright-eyed and red-cheeked poems, which I have praised in an earlier review. A third class may be represented by "Izaak Walton in Maiden Lane," which I quote with omissions:

In that Manhattan alley long yclept,
With gentle olden music, *Maiden Lane*,
Where sick and sad-eyed Traffic scarce has slept
Even at midnight, in her lust for gain
Rolling in restive pain

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Through the stern vigil of a century,
There 'mid the din of harsh reality—
The newsboy's shriek, car's clang, and huckster's chaff,
The cobble's roar, and the loud drayman's laugh . . .
There in the midst of all,
Seated upon a stall,
Musing on meadows, Isaak, I met thee! . . .
The turbid current surging at my side
Became the flow of Thames' sequestered tide,
The newsboy's cry waned to a curlew's call,
The jangling pedlar tended tinkling sheep
Along green hedgerows; even the drayman's brawl
Sweetened to an old soliloquy, till all
That strident world has chastened to a sleep
Where, in a twilit eddy of my dream,
Thine image, Isaak, pored upon a bream.

The student of these groups of exceptions (to which certain landscapes that impress us like profiles might be subjoined) will observe that they are half-serious rather than austere, that they are either frankly gay or frequent the corridor that divides mirth and gravity, with the doors left ajar on either hand. Let him couple this fact with the relative unimpressiveness of the poems in which the seriousness is both deep and obvious, the odes and elegies, for instance, and he will possibly be enticed into ready generalities. He will say that Mr. MacKaye is a serious man, keenly impressible by weighty themes, but a man so made that, to be effectively serious, he must play; one-half of him, the elf-half, the child-half, must sport, that the other or graver half may have freedom to ponder. He will add, if his daring persists, that this explains why the poet succeeds with "The Canterbury Pilgrims" and half succeeds with "Mater," why he borders on failure in the solemnities of "Jeanne D'Arc" and the Greek part of "Sappho and Phaon," why "The Scarecrow," the tragedy of farce, is the consummate and masterly expression of his genius.

My last word, however, should not be analytic but tributary—a word of homage for that distinguished and charming life-work, of which the two volumes I have here inadequately reviewed are in part the embodiment, in part the prophecy.

O. W. Firkins.

Literature

THE SINGLE-TAX AGITATION.

The Single Tax Movement in the United States. By Arthur Nichols Young, Ph.D., Instructor in Economics and Social Institutions in Princeton University. Princeton University Press. $1.50 net.

The object of this book is clearly and concisely stated in the preface. Whereas "substantially all of the literature devoted to the single-tax question has been purely controversial," the writer has undertaken in the present volume "to give a complete historical account of the single-tax movement in the United States, together with a discussion of the tactics of the single-taxers, their programme, the present status of the movement, and its influence upon economic thought and upon fiscal and social reform." The volume will be found to have the character that might be expected from this declaration of purpose. It is occupied in the main with the recording of actual developments—including the development of Henry George's own career as thinker, writer, and agitator—in the story of the single-tax movement; and while an intelligent performance of this task necessarily involves a certain degree of critical appraisal of the arguments advanced in the controversy, an attitude of impartiality is maintained wherever possible. Accordingly, the chief value of the work lies in the bringing together of a great number of detached facts, relating in part to the positions taken by Henry George himself and by his followers in the movement, upon various phases of economic and political controversy, in part to the success or failure of specific efforts to introduce the single tax, or some modification of it, in various States of the Union or subdivisions of them. To any one in search of authentic information concerning either the political history of the single-tax movement or the mental attitude of its leading advocates in this country, the work will be highly serviceable.

But, while the supplying of this information, the result of much conscientious and painstaking labor, is the most distinct service accomplished by the writer, it is not in these miscellaneous data that its chief interest is to be found. What the reader concerned rather for large appreciations than for the details of a chronicle will wish above all to know is, what has been the nature, rather than the exact extent or distribution, of the growth that has sprung from "Progress and Poverty"? What kind of converts have been made by it in the course of the thirty-seven years since the appearance of Henry George's masterpiece? Have its fundamental ideas become accepted by an increasing number of competent thinkers? And, setting aside the question of quality, are the rank and file of his followers a steadily growing body, and are they animated by the faith that animated him? Do they fight for the principle of the single tax as understood and proclaimed by him, or are they working under cover, denying the master, either tacitly or expressly, in the hope of getting practical results which will tend to bring about the desired consummation while not encountering the opposition which a bold avowal would evoke?

To the last two questions the book before us supplies explicit answer; to the first two it does not. Without going into the details conscientiously set forth in the volume, it may be said that one gets the impression that by far the greater part of the work effectively done in the political field in the direction of the single tax thus far has been done not in the shape of an avowed promotion of the single-tax doctrine or policy, but in such form as to gain as much support as possible for some measure which the true-blue single-taxers desire as an entering-wedge, but which persons opposed or indifferent to their doctrine would advocate on wholly different grounds. In the promotion of these proposals, the endeavor has usually been made to keep the single-tax dogma altogether in the background; but the opposition to them has nevertheless been based, and justly based, on the fact that the real moving force behind them was supplied by the crusading zeal of the single-taxers. In Oregon, the case has been somewhat different, the single-taxers there, with Mr. U'Ren as their leader and the Joseph Fels fund supplying the sinews of war, being a conspicuously militant element in the State; but several of the campaigns conducted there, under the initiative-and-referendum system, have been marred by features savoring of deviousness, not to say dishonesty. It is interesting at this moment to note what the author says at the conclusion of his chapter on the Oregon agitation:

> The result of six years of single-tax campaigning has been to close the minds of the people to tax-reform of that or any other brand. The rejection at the 1914 election of several diverse tax proposals by about the same majorities is evidence that the voters have become suspicious of all tax measures alike. Nevertheless, W. S. U'Ren, leader of the Oregon single-taxers, believes that "the best work that can be done for the single-tax movement hereafter, in Oregon at least, is to submit at every election a straight single-tax measure."

In a footnote, Mr. U'Ren is further quoted as having declared that while these campaigns would show little gain at first, yet "some time from the third campaign to the fifth, that is, between six and ten years, our single-tax measure will go with a rush, just as the prohibition and equal-suffrage measures were adopted." The first of these campaigns has just ended in an overwhelming defeat; but that offers no reason for either accepting or rejecting Mr. U'Ren's forecast as to what is to happen in 1920, 1922, or 1924. There is no reason to suppose that the single-taxers will be tired out, and there is no telling what wave of sentiment may sweep over the State of Oregon at one time or another.

To the other two questions—what kind of converts have been made by "Progress and Poverty" in these seven and thirty years, and whether its fundamental ideas have been accepted by an increasing number of competent thinkers—we have said that Dr. Young's book furnishes no explicit answer. But the answer is nevertheless unmistakably given—by omission. The almost total absence of names of weight, the fact that the few names of this kind that do appear belong to the early stages of the movement, the further circumstance that even of these few some adopted a modified position later on—these things can only mean that "Progress and Poverty," impressive as in many ways it is, not only in point of eloquence and moving quality, but also in point of lucidity, has made no serious conquest of competent minds. This absence in the book not only

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agrees with common knowledge, but cannot by any possibility be ascribed to indifference or bias on the part of the author. He lays ample stress on the inspiring influence of "Progress and Poverty" upon those who have been awakened by it to a passionate zeal for human improvement, and he ascribes to it a large share of credit for the progress of administrative tax-reform. If he does not record any substantial conquest of competent opinion for its essential doctrine, it is simply because no such thing has taken place.

And the reason is not far to seek. The distinctive feature of Henry George's teaching was the rightfulness—nay, the duty—of confiscation of land values. The idea of the unearned increment was not his, and the absorption of that increment by the community had been strongly advocated by John Stuart Mill—with the vital limitation, however, that this should apply only to future increment. This limitation Henry George rejected not only with emphasis but with contempt; confiscation was of the essence of his creed. This was his contribution to economic ethics; and while some of his writing upon economic theory was of extraordinary force, he added nothing that is true and proclaimed much that is manifestly false. The hold of his famous book rested upon two things—the doctrine of the ethical wrong of land ownership in the abstract, and the idea that its abolition would be a panacea for poverty. The latter has so utterly failed to make headway that it is now almost forgotten; the former is put out of court, among the vast majority of sober-minded persons, by consideration of the monstrous wrongfulness and inequity of confiscation.

CURRENT FICTION.

The Sins of the Children. By Cosmo Hamilton. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

The author of "The Blindness of Virtue" begins to appear a man of one idea. Here is another handling of his expression, in the form of a rather hollow fiction, of his burning sense that horrible things are brought about by the silence of parents upon questions of sex. We are presented, in this instance, with a good old doddering scientist who has four children and does not know how to bring them up. He is a bacteriologist and, at the time of our action, is specializing in the study of certain diseases which are the result of vice. He has never tried to make companions of his children. They have grown up apart from him, slightly repelled by him, though beneath his awkwardness and reticence paternal yearnings are hidden. This lack of affectionate intimacy is in some way which we do not quite make out connected with his failure to enlighten them about the nature and perils of sex. At all events, none of them knows anything about the relations of men and women; the two daughters do not know enough to be modest, and the two sons do not know enough to avoid physical contamination. It is by a mere series of lucky coincidences that the blundering old father is enabled to rescue them, one after another, from the fatal perils to which they have been exposed through his criminal negligence. We have no wish to belittle the thing Mr. Hamilton has at heart. But in the interests of the art of story-telling we do wish to protest once more against the artificial "novelizing" of such a theme. Only by a strong and sincere embodiment in fiction can the novelist justify and accomplish his idea. Let him write a tract if he will, but let him not try to fool his public into the impression that he has written a story. These people in question are very absurd, not one of them rings true; and the action in which they are supposed to be involved is a purely mechanical contrivance. There is something strained and hectic about the whole performance; and however sincere its purpose, it is impossible not to feel that it is the product of a species of sex-obsession, and therefore a product far from wholesome.

Watermeads. By Archibald Marshall. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

Readers who relish the delightful archaic flavor of Mr. Marshall's work will find all that they expect of him in this new tale. Here is his chosen world, a world of country gentle-folk, aristocratic and provincial, for whom life moves within definite boundaries, and upon a carefully guarded plane. Over against titles and money, which may or may not be vulgar, are set these standards of family and property which can never be vulgar, and which together represent the *summum bonum* of earthly well-being. Watermeads is less a place than a property, less, on the whole, a property than a shrine. It is, in fact, the family estate of the Conways, a race of immemorial though untitled gentility. The present incumbent is a good-natured gentleman who has inherited the estate without the means to keep it up. By economy and first-aid methods of expenditure he has contrived for thirty years to steer clear of encumbrance. His way at a pinch is to sell outright one of the family paintings, Reynolds or Raeburn or Holbein, rather than to mortgage a single acre of sacred Watermeads. As a young man he has had his chance of advancement under the wing of a rich and politically influential uncle, Mark Blake. But Sydney Conway has committed the unpardonable fault of a *mésalliance;* and the uncle, after summing up the impossible bride in a single word, has virtually cast him off. Mrs. Conway, indeed, is an intolerable person to everybody but her husband, who contrives somehow to make shift with her. Fred, the oldest son, is like his father, but a trifle more industrious and enterprising. Through him is to come about a restoration of the family fortunes, and safety for imperilled Watermeads. It is difficult to think of Mr. Marshall except as a sort of reincarnation of Trollope. Not only the point of view, but the very gait and gesture of the master appear again here. The illusion is so perfect that the occasional appearance of modern portents like the motor car seem almost unpleasantly incongruous.

The Impossible Mrs. Bellew. By David Lisle. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co.

The impossibility of Mrs. Bellew lies, or is intended to lie, solely in her ostracized social condition. The radiantly beautiful creature, with a heart of pure gold, is cast forth from her smart clique, when she gives her unfaithful husband grounds for divorce. After she has chosen the part of paramour in preference to that of sempstress, the story finds her chastened by the death of her little son and seeking a lonely distraction from her sorrow at Monte Carlo, where she dazzles croupiers and public, is pursued by a fabulous grandee from Russia, adored by a young English novelist, and discussed by the novelist's old father, a benignant and liberal minister of the gospel, a United States Senator who is almost persuaded to be a Socialist, and their little group of the eminently respectable. The ardent novelist happens to have championed the dictum that, in respect to all natural inclination to sexual laxity, women are a race of angels. The Senator, and Mrs. Bellew as well, hold a brief for a parity in evil as between the sexes. The lover suffers rude shocks. But as nothing avails to shake his faith in the essential goodness of Mrs. Bellew, she generously chooses an "only way" of self-immolation, a feinted surrender to the Russian pursuer, used to cover an immediate reformation and secret retirement, which have lasted twenty-four hours before the benignant divine is enabled to bring them to a close by marrying the exalted pair. Except that the action is a long while in getting started, and is too much clogged with bootless discussions, the tale is by no means an impossible example of its starkly impossible genre.

Our Natupski Neighbors. By Edith Miniter. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

This is a book of really original flavor. Its broad and at times uproarious humor, its insight into the soul of the alien among us, its satirical picture of rural degeneracy in New England, its cheerful faith in the process of the melting-pot, should all commend it to readers who are a little tired of the usual pretty thing and the usual ugly thing in current fiction. The family of Polish peasants which gets foothold on the old homestead next to Abner Slocumb's place looks utterly outlandish and impossible to the people of West Holly—a village, we are to understand, somewhere not far north of Boston. Natupski père does not understand, or wish to understand, West Holly ways. He knows nothing about farming, and will take no advice; but having set his hand to the plough, he drives ahead blindly, indomitably, working out everything for himself, but always working, and always saving. A big family grows up about him, a family of

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"help" who do not need to be paid or to be more than half-fed and half-clothed. And his family, of course, grows into the American tradition. The oldest son goes to Harvard, and comes back to West Holly to take a responsible position there. By this time the Natupskis have prospered miraculously, in the eyes of the indolent, childless Yankees. Indeed, they set an example of thrift and industry which in time react upon their unwilling hosts, and West Holly is the better for the not altogether savory leaven of their presence. It is a rather startling notion, to our complacency as "native" Americans, that the Abner Slocumbs, here and there, may well profit by being cast into the melting-pot with the Natupskis.

ADMIRAL FISKE ON THE NAVY.

The Navy as a Fighting Machine. By Rear-Admiral Bradley A. Fiske. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2 net.

Whatever appears from the pen of this author deserves careful reading by those interested in the grave problems which may, sooner or later, fall for solution to the navy of the United States, since Rear-Admiral Fiske is among the ablest living students of naval affairs. Whether one agrees with him or not, one cannot fail to recognize the clarity of his style and the logical manner in which he moves from premises to conclusions. The book under consideration is written less for the expert than for the layman with the view of making reasonably plain to the latter the underlying principles of organization and operation. It is very timely on account of the huge sums about to be expended upon the increase of the navy—a subject which may well engage the attention of the average citizen, and of the taxpayer in particular.

Neglecting, for the moment, the greater question whether some other means than hostilities may not eventually be found for the settlement of international quarrels, it is both interesting and instructive to follow the author in the development of his thesis that we may appreciate the attitude of one who believes firmly that safety lies only in complete readiness to encounter any probable enemy. The naval and military powers of a nation are but the instruments by which, in last resort, it carries out its foreign policy. As too great powers are not necessary and too small powers would be fatal, it becomes evident that the size of a navy should be regulated solely by the requirements of its foreign policy. The disquieting alternative is thus presented of an "adequate navy" or, practically, none at all. So an "inadequate" navy is seen to be a waste of public funds, since it is doomed in advance to defeat and destruction.

The commonly accepted definition of strategy, the directing the movements of armed forces to the point of contact when tactics assume control, is expanded by the author to cover not only these movements, but all the requisite preparations for war. The readiness of the fleet for action, the supplying of its wants, the creation of its reserves in ships and men, the addition to it of countless auxiliaries, the activities of the shore stations, are regarded by him as no less the domain of strategy, assisted by its handmaiden "logistics," than the making in advance of plans of campaign which deal with all conceivable situations that may arise. So vast a work is beyond the capacity of any one person; hence the need of a body of men to study and solve the innumerable questions involved. In other words, there is demanded a General Staff after the example of von Moltke. The author dwells upon the fact that ours is the only large navy lacking in this important respect.

In spite of ourselves, now that we are committed to what he calls "the great game," we seem forced to "go the limit" and to establish a General Staff, for, when war breaks out, there is no time for asking what we should do, since prompt and decisive action must be taken, every detail having been thought out and provided for during the quiet days of peace in which alone study and reflection are possible.

In common with other students of naval warfare, the author deprecates the practice of considering the battle as won in advance by the heavier ships, and he rightly insists upon the thorough training of officers and men at any cost. To employ his own expression, the power of a vessel is its power when "used with 100 per cent. of skill." He points out arithmetically that even a small lack of accuracy in gunfire is attended by results which are cumulatively disastrous. If gun-pointers should be well instructed, he pertinently suggests that the training of the commander-in-chief is much more important. This training can only be achieved by close theoretical study; by constant playing of the naval war game, originated at the Naval War College and now used on board ship as well; and by manœuvres in which he handles the whole fleet against one or more craft representing the enemy, or in which he divides his force into two approximately equal parts and fights his part against that of his second in command. Similar pains must be taken in drilling every officer and every man in his battle duties, so that each shall act automatically in the hour of trial. This contention, too often overlooked, can hardly be challenged.

The author is led by his argument to advocate more naval stations—a regrettable conclusion, in the light of the notorious absence of economy in their administration. Greater employment of private establishments has been demonstrated abroad during this war as inevitable.

Discussing hypothetical cases of the use of the fleet, the author gives the measures of preparation and shows the enormous task falling under the head of logistics. Furthermore, he describes the functions of the various elements of the fleet from battleship to aeroplane and supply vessels. The drain on our resources in a great war is seen to be stupendous.

It is, by the way, something of a surprise to be told that Nelson and other British admirals in the past *blockaded* French ports to prevent the egress of the enemy. Rather did they court such egress as giving them the opportunity to meet and destroy the French squadrons. Again, the sweeping statement that no man ever reached excellence in the naval profession who entered it late in life seems to ignore the conspicuous exception of Blake.

In spite of its great merits, this book is not without its faults. It is largely a reprint of former essays in which the same ground is gone over several times, thus occasioning much repetition. It is conspicuously wanting in frank criticism of the manifest defects in our own naval organization, due, of course, to the Navy Department's short-sighted prohibition of all public utterances by officers on naval topics, through which it deprives itself of valuable hints and recommendations.

While very important, the opening chapters on War and the Nations are terribly depressing. They seek to prove that practically all human progress is achieved through war; that war being a normal state, it is folly to expect its disappearance or diminution; that the only safety lies in being stronger in a military and naval sense than your neighbor. Present appearances certainly seem for the moment to support this contention, but to those who believe that men as a whole are better, not worse, than they were, that mankind is improving and not deteriorating, such a conclusion seems monstrous and unacceptable. The author recognizes the merging in the past of the family into the clan, the clan into the nation, the smaller into larger nations. May he not have missed in this development the promise of larger affiliations with the possibility that these larger affiliations will in the end be more closely linked in bonds of amity? Is it not conceivable that among them should arise the desire to settle their differences (if any should occur) by peaceful methods, and to relegate the grim arbitrament of war to the limbo of a horrible, unspeakable, unimaginable past? Not to hope for, not to believe that this desirable change may come about ere long, possibly even as a result of the fierce struggles now occurring abroad, were the rankest pessimism.

PARALLELISM OR TRANSMISSION?

The Migrations of Early Culture. By Grafton E. Smith. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. $1.25 net.

The ethnologists come in for a scolding in this little book by a professor of anatomy in Manchester University. His work is "a study of the significance of the geographical distribution of the practice of mummification as evidence of the migrations of peoples and the spread of certain customs and beliefs." The author is a pronounced and even impatient exponent of acculturа-

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tion and lashes out sturdily at the "meaningless dogma 'of the similarity of the working of the human mind' as an explanation of the identity of customs." He believes that, about 3000 B. C., there arose in Egypt the nucleus of the "heliolithic" culture-complex—mummification, megalithic architecture, and the making of idols. These three practices are most intimately and genetically connected, and with them became associated, by the merest accident (because the Egyptians practiced them) the weaving of linen, copper-working, worship of the sun and the serpent, and the practices of massage and circumcision. Later on there were "numerous other trivial customs, like ear-piercing, tattooing, and the use of the swastika, none of which originated in Egypt, but happened to have become 'tacked on' to that distinctive culture before its great world tour began." The bizarre term "heliolithic" has been adopted from Professor Brockwell to cover this distinctive culture, two of whose salient features were megalithic building and sun-worship.

Now, says Dr. Smith, this association of customs and beliefs constituting heliolithic culture was clearly fortuitous; no inherent relationship exists between one and the other. "They became connected purely by chance in one definite locality, and the fact that such incongruous customs reappear in association in distant parts of the globe is proof of the most positive kind that the wanderings of peoples must have brought this peculiar combination of freakish practices from the centre where chance linked them together." Here is the thesis. The author has deliberately neglected all art in working it out. His "pages were crudely flung together . . . as an appeal to ethnologists to recognize the error of their ways and repent."

Despite its contentiousness and missionary, not to say militant, mood, this book should not be put aside lightly. Even the belabored believer in parallelism can get a good deal out of it. The author is clear and incisive, his data compendious and striking, and his explanations and suggestions of considerable interest. All that is needed to make his theory really debatable is evidence as to the "how" of the asserted spread of these associated customs from Egypt to the ends of the earth. We are promised presently a "consideration of the most interesting aspect of the whole problem, the identity of the early mariners who were the distributers of so strange a cargo." For that we shall wait with interest, for there can be no doubt that a strong preliminary case has been made out for a set of remarkable likenesses of custom as among widely separated areas. Doubtless the explanation that would most naturally cover these homologies, as well as many others, is that of acculturation. But so many other attempts to establish the possibility of such contagion have proved unsatisfactory to everybody except their authors that we may be excused for being skeptical in advance of the evidence. Distances that look short upon a map are unconscionably long over land and water, and there are also many barriers, both physical and human, to transmission of culture. In multitudes of cases, parallelism—similar reactions of similar beings in the face of similar needs—is all that lies between science and the admission of inexplicability or of supernatural causes. Strange enough cases of parallelism are on record for which no explanation on the basis of transmission has been ventured by a scientist. Distinctly, the burden of proof is upon the author before us, when he asserts that "it will soon be possible, not only to sketch out in some detail the routes taken by the series of ancient mariners who spread abroad this peculiarly distinctive civilization, but also to identify the adventurers and determine the dates of their greatest exploits and the motives for most of their enterprises."

Notes

Frederick A. Stokes Company announces for publication next month "Brandon of the Engineers," by Harold Bindloss; "Beautiful Crochet on Household Linen" and "The Flower Patch Among the Hills," by Flora Klickmann, and "The World's Minerals," by L. J. Spencer.

The announcement comes from London that the Royal Colonial Institute has made arrangements with the Oxford University Press for the publication of a standard work entitled "The Empire at War," Being a History of Imperial Coöperation up to and Including the Great War. The work will be published in six volumes under the editorship of Sir Charles Lucas.

Houghton Mifflin Company announces the publication of the following volumes: A memorial edition of Henry James's "The Portrait of a Lady," in two volumes; "A Layman's Handbook of Medicine," by Richard C. Cabot; a limited edition of "The Jumel Mansion," by William Henry Shelton; a new edition of "Southey's Life of Nelson," edited by Sir Henry Newbolt; "French Etchers of the Second Empire," by William Aspenwall Bradley, and "A Catalogue of Arretine Pottery," by George H. Chase.

The following volumes are announced for publication immediately or in the early spring by G. P. Putnam's Sons: "The Yeoman Adventurer," by George W. Gough; "The New Protectionism," by J. A. Hobson; "François Villon—His Life and Times (1431-1463)," by H. de Vere Stacpole; "Visions and Beliefs in the West of Ireland," by Lady Gregory; "The Citizen and Society," by Norman Angell; "The Cambridge History of English Literature," Vol. XIII: The Nineteenth Century, Part II, by various writers; "The Bible's Prose Epic of Eve and Her Sons," by Eric S. Robertson; "In Canada's Wonderful Northland," by W. Tees Curran and H. A. Calkins. As representatives of the Cambridge University Press the Putnams announce the following: "Cymbeline" (the Granta Shakespeare), edited by J. H. Lobban; "Algæ," Vol. I, by G. S. West; "Jātāka Tales," selected and edited by H. T. Francis, and Vol. VII, No. 4, of Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, entitled "The So-called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents," by Dom R. Hugh Connolly.

The forbidding task of writing a life of Washington for young people in two hundred pages has been performed by William H. Rideing for Macmillan's "True Stories of Great Americans" series (50 cents net) in an interesting but by no means brilliant way. The narrative covers the field of late Colonial and early national affairs in a manner which, considering the limited size of the volume, has made it impossible to study Washington's personality at all. A book of more intimate flavor might, since school histories care for the background of Washington's life fairly well, have been more serviceable. L. Frank Tooker has done decidedly better with John Paul Jones, whom, however, he draws with too flattering a pen for strict historical truth. Jones's dashing boldness, excellent judgment, and ability as a sea-fighter are well described, and the author is happily confident enough of the maturity of his readers to include several of Jones's long letters. But the man's faults, whether his uncontrolled love of glory, his occasional cruelty, or the instability which once made him disloyal to America, are glossed over.

It has been estimated that the average man employs a vocabulary of from three to four thousand words. Robert Palfrey Utter, in his "Every-Day Words and Their Uses" (Harper; $1.25 net), lists and explains the correct uses of about a thousand words which the average man abuses. From these two statements one would not be justified in an inference that the average man blunders at every third or fourth word, yet it is a safe guess that in a ten-minute conversation he will commit some offence—let slip some grammatical or rhetorical toad—against which a diligent perusal of Professor Utter's book would have forewarned him. The average man needs a book of this sort constantly at hand. The special merits of this one are good sense and simplicity.

"I recognize but one mental acquisition as an essential part of the education of a lady or a gentleman—namely, an accurate and refined use of the mother tongue." This striking sentence of ex-President Eliot's Mr. James P. Kelley adopts as the motto of his good-humored, vivacious, and somewhat scandalous book, "Workmanship in Words" (Little, Brown; $1 net). The good humor of it is perhaps due to a comfortable assurance that "the English language, with all its faults, is on the whole the best that man ever spoke." The vivacity is the result of a linguistic conservative's healthy reaction against the assaults of the historical radicals. The scandalous element to which we have referred consists of a large collection of major and minor stylistic immoralities laid at the doors of such living masters of the written word as Mr. Woodrow Wilson, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, Mr. W. H. Taft, Mr. A. T. Hadley, Mr. C. W. Eliot, Mr. Thomas Hardy, Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. Crothers, Miss Repplier, Mrs. Wharton. Many other notables are conveniently listed in the index. The company of sinners is so large and so fine that it is something of a distinction to be damned with

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them. Indeed, the company is large and fine enough, the historical radicals would say, to escape condemnation by an appeal to the great principle of "good usage." Mr. Kelley, they would say, is a purist, with a strain of the grammar-and-dictionary-worshipping "schoolmarm." Mr. Kelley is aware that his cases can be used against him. His point is essentially this: What good writers give us is English; but good writers are occasionally hurried and negligent; therefore, the English that they give us is not always *good* English. There are principles of clearness, ease, and force to which the princes of language should be subject. A construction that is obscure or awkward or weak is condemnable, though it were employed by every English writer from Chaucer to Chesterton.

William Watson has written an essay of a hundred pages on "Pencraft" (Lane; $1 net), which will give pleasure to the little brotherhood of good writers, and will perhaps provoke yawns and witticisms from the younger generation of penmen. Time makes paradoxers of the orthodox; the truisms of yesterday are the bold sallies of to-day. And so we listen with attent ear to Mr. Watson's exposition of the thesis that writing is a fine and admirable craft, beyond the manipulative faculty of babes and sucklings. Old-fashioned people may inquire, Who has said anything to the contrary? Well, Mr. Watson has collected a good many signs of popular heresy. An American publisher advertises a new author's work as free from everything connoted by "that now discredited word *literary*." The critical world sneers at the meticulous workmanship of Tennyson, Dryden languishes in oblivion, while even the bards rhapsodize over the babblings of Blake and the loose effusion of Whitman. Literature in prose and verse deserts the ancient high standards of the "scriptive" art, and goes a-whoring after the "loquitive." Men of letters themselves accept the pernicious æsthetics of Browning's "Andrea del Sarto," and give countenance to the popular superstition that the divine is most resident in the unformed, the unfinished, the inarticulate. With patience, yet with pain, Mr. Watson remarks that to sneer at Tennyson "for being 'still occupied with his vowel-endings' is just as foolish as it would be to sneer at an architect for being 'still occupied with his volutes and cornices.'" He believes with Dante that a mastery of *lo bello stile* will not in itself disqualify a man for receiving a vision of the celestial rose. To assume that the Supreme Power has a preference for transmitting his messages by the tongues of the feeble-minded, and in the style of kitchen-French, is an unhandsome conception of God. "Great indeed is a 'profound simplicity of intellect,' great can be the power of the childlike mind; yet I do not know that I am prepared to live in the nursery for the distant and doubtful chance that some apocalypse may there be vouchsafed which is denied to the study and the cloister, the workshop and the fields. The adult brain craves the society of adult brains and the harvest of adult experience." To any man who can construe *quid est quid* these words are as apples of gold in pictures of silver.

"Irrigation Management" (Appleton; $2 net), by Prof. Frederick Haynes Newell, of the University of Illinois, is intended primarily for the farmer of irrigated lands and the men whose duty it is to see to the maintenance of irrigating canals and ditches against the many forces operating to destroy them or impair their efficiency. Any intelligent reader, however, will find much in the book to attract and hold his attention. The irrigation canal must go where it is needed, not where the forces of nature left to themselves would take it, and this means that only eternal vigilance can make sure that it will not break away from the unnatural situation in which it must often be placed. At one point the winds are constantly eating away the sand which forms the only available material for its banks; at another ranging cattle may trample the banks down until an overflow begins, or, again, a burrowing animal may start a break in the night which will do thousands of dollars' worth of damage before it is discovered. This means that the successful "canal rider" must be a man of energy and resourcefulness, capable of assuming large responsibilities and discharging them with speed and precision when occasion rises. It is a work that naturally appeals to the self-reliant, outdoor-loving type of manhood which American conditions have fostered. An immense extension of irrigation in American agriculture is one of the certainties of the future, and this book will doubtless stimulate many young men to fit themselves for service in that work. The "ditch digger" has from ancient times been regarded as being about at the bottom of unskilled labor, but the "canal rider" ranks with the forester in an occupation requiring an independence of judgment, skill, and trustworthiness which must command the respect of all. One may almost surmise that the germ of a new outdoor poetry is wrapped up in the forester and the canal rider, having distinctive flavor in the fact that the author is out-of-doors for a serious purpose, and not for mere recreation or "copy."

The modern book illustrator has his innings once a year. At Christmas, at least, working in a picturesque period, he has free scope for decoration and invention in the editions of household classics that are still in fashion as gift-books. Washington Irving's "Old Christmas" (Putnam; $2.50 net) is always a favorite, and this year Frank Dadd, the popular British illustrator, helps perpetuate the flavor and tradition that the late F. Hopkinson Smith carried on so consistently on this side of the Atlantic. An attractive edition of Smith's "In Dickens's London" (Scribner; $2) is the last product of his prolific pen and pencil. F. Hopkinson Smith was an indefatigable tourist in the best sense of the word. In this volume the various inns that are rapidly disappearing before the London builder are lovingly depicted, and the record of each pilgrimage of the artist-author reads like the adventure it really was. For the suburban and country dweller, Stephen F. Hamblin's "Book of Garden Plans" (Doubleday, Page; $2 net) carries definite benefits. In addition to the carefully chosen photographs and brief letter-press, we recommend his lists of various seasonal plants adapted to the needs of community or private gardens, while the accompanying blueprint facsimiles are a novel and useful inclusion in a book of this character.

In a little book just published by D. Van Nostrand Co. ($2 net), Mr. Allen Hoar, seeking to give the characteristics and development of "The Submarine Torpedo Boat," writes for both the layman and the designing constructor. Touching very lightly on the history of earlier inventions, he devotes an interesting chapter to the types in use by the belligerents in the present war, and he gives a condensed account of their exploits. It is impossible, he justly contends, to forecast the future of this new weapon without seriously considering the grave problems in construction and propulsion that must be solved at each step; hence the value of the technical chapters, which deal with such matters as stability, engines, speed, habitability, radius of action, armament, etc. That the submarine will continue to grow in size and powers of destruction is inevitable. Rightly, he holds that its field of action is limited by the physical endurance of its crew. The discussion of the tactics of the under-water boat, and of the means of resisting its attacks, is worth reading, even if not always convincing. A copious index and many illustrations make the reader's path easy and agreeable. The cut on page 90 is especially illuminating, as exhibiting the fearsome complexity of the interior installation and control mechanism of a submarine.

With a strong endorsement by P. A. Vaile, who himself has written, perhaps, the best of all the many books on golf, there appears anonymously "Golf for Women," by A Woman Golfer (Moffat, Yard; $2.50 net). In her preface the author excuses her temerity by the very reasonable plea that a woman understands the particular needs and difficulties of women better than a man can. Certainly this volume is better calculated to assist women who are learning the game, as well as those who are minded to devote to it some serious study, than are the few chapters commonly given to women in books by the masculine experts. Adopting Mr. Vaile's method, the author reverses the usual order of procedure, starting with putting, which (*pace* Harry Vardon and others) she thinks can be taught, and continuing through the mashie and mid-iron to the wooden clubs. Her defence of this arrangement is, in our opinion, sound, as in general are the principles of play that she expounds. The style is clear, and the book should serve admirably the purpose for which it was written. An index would have been an advantage.

The spread of legislation on health insurance over practically all Europe, and especially its enactment in England, where it includes a comprehensive system of State medical care, has inspired much interest in the subject in America. Health-insurance bills were introduced in three States in 1916, Massachusetts especially giving earnest consideration to one; bills will be championed in other States this winter by the American Association for Labor Legislation, and a Federal investigation is possible. A popular presentation of the principles of such insurance by an ardent believer in it is offered in I. M. Rubinow's "Standards of Health Insurance" (Holt; $1.50 net). Most of the content of the book has appeared in articles in the *Journal of Political Economy*. The author properly avoids statistics, and confines himself to a discussion of the objects to be achieved, the proper scope of health insurance, the financial and administrative organization of various systems, and the manner of distributing the cost among those benefited. Mr. Rubinow

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argues in favor of compelling all wage-earners of certain sorts to take out insurance against sickness; he believes that a system of health insurance should offer no less than four branches of effective service—medical care, sick benefits, maternity benefits, and funeral benefits; he believes that state, employers, and employees should all contribute to the cost; and he criticises in a fruitful way the administrative workings of the chief European systems, obviously giving the preference to the German as compared with the British. Granting the hypothesis that the provision of systems of health insurance by governmental legislation is generally desirable in some parts of America, the volume is thoughtful and scientific, and should contribute much to intelligent discussion of an important question.

It is something of an accomplishment in the realm of philosophy that so solid a book as Dr. James Ward's "Naturalism and Agnosticism" should have reached a fourth edition (Macmillan; $3.25 net). In order to bring the work into the compass of a single volume the detailed table of contents has been omitted, but the index remains. A few notes have been added, and the preface states that a number of small emendations have been made in the text.

"Travels in the American Colonies," edited under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America by Newton D. Mereness, appears from the press of Macmillan. The collection consists of eighteen journals or letters, of varying length and interest, of which the earliest dates from 1690 and the latest from 1783. The largest number of journals deal with journeys into the Indian country, particularly to the Southern Indians, by English or French agents sent on missions of one sort or another. There are three journals written by adherents of the Moravian sect, and five of miscellaneous character. The most interesting of the journals, at least from the point of view of the general student of colonial history, is that of Lord Adam Gordon, a member of the English Parliament and an officer in the army, who journeyed through the West Indies and the northern colonies at the close of the last French war. The record of his observations and impressions makes a journal of eighty-four pages, and is of considerable value for the student of the beginnings of the Revolution. The editor has contributed a brief introduction to each document, furnishing the essential facts, so far as discoverable, of the author, and of the circumstances giving occasion for the document itself.

The Carnegie Foundation some years ago embarked upon the laudable work of furnishing an index to the economic material in the reports and Governors' messages of all the States of the Union. Thus far eleven volumes have been published, devoted to as many States; and they are now followed by a large manila-bound book of seven hundred pages treating of New Jersey documents. The editor, Adelaide R. Hasse, of the New York Public Library, has given a broad interpretation to the term "economic"; the references to localities, in listing the materials, have been made complete; and a valuable innovation is an index of the names of legislators and of administrators who have in one way or another influenced the development of the economic life of the State.

ADDITIONAL HOLIDAY BOOKS FOR CHILDREN.

We are glad to mention the following books, which arrived too late for mention in our special Holiday Book Number, as being suitable as gifts for children during the present season: Southey's "Life of Nelson" (Houghton Mifflin; $2 net), which has long been a favorite, now appears handsomely printed, and illustrated in color by A. D. McCormick. Other volumes which we can recommend are: "Bible Stories to Read and Tell" (Houghton Mifflin; $2 net), by Frances Jenkins Olcott; "The Russian Story Book," containing tales from the Song-Cycles of Kiev and Novgorod and other early sources, retold by Richard Wilson. It has color-plates and reproductions of drawings by Frank C. Papé, and is published by Macmillan at $2.25. The same house has issued J. W. Fortescue's book of fanciful tales of kings and princesses, "The Three Pearls" ($1.25), with illustrations by Alice B. Woodward, and a charming collection of "English Nursery Rhymes" ($2), together with the music and extremely pretty colored pictures. In the series of Tell-Me-Why Stories, C. H. Claudy now devotes himself to "Great Discoveries" (Robert M. McBride; $1.50 net). While the author introduces such characters as Friar Bacon and Galileo, he admits that he has modified their diction for the needs of small readers. Frances Browne's book, "Granny's Wonderful Chair and Its Tales of Fairy Times" (Dutton; $2.50 net), has been revived for young readers by an introduction and illustrations by Katharine Pyle. The "small boy" has the right of way in Alice Turner Curtis's story of "Miss Ann and Jimmy," which has as its central feature the delights of a mysterious cave on the seashore (Penn Publishing Co.; 90 cents net). All boys, but especially those mechanically minded, ought to find interest in William O. Stevens's "The Boy's Book of Famous Warships," illustrated by J. D. Whiting (Robert M. McBride; $1.60 net). There you may follow the history of these masters of the sea from the time of the Armada to the present day. By this firm also is issued G. C. Harvey's "Famous Four-Footed Friends" ($1.50 net), a book for lovers of horses and dogs. Little girls will turn no doubt with zest to Clara Whitehill Hunt's story, "About Harriet" (Houghton Mifflin; $1.25 net).

Science

THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.

The autumn meeting of the National Academy of Sciences was held on November 13 and 14, in Boston, at the magnificent new buidlings of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The first session was devoted to biology. Dr. Raymond Pearl, of the Maine Agricultural Experiment Station, the youngest member, read a most interesting paper on Some Effects of the Continued Administration of Alcohol to the Domestic Fowl, with special reference to the progeny. The fowls were exposed to the vapor of alcohol for considerable periods, and it was found that the alcohol acts as a selective agent on the zygotes, preventing the formation of any except the stronger stock. It thus results that the progeny of alcoholic parents is fewer in number, but better in vigor, than in the case of the normal. The same effect is found in treating the eggs with alcohol in the incubator, the weaker being killed off, and only the stronger surviving. According to Dr. Pearl, these results enable one to coördinate the apparently contradictory results obtained by various investigations according to a consistent principle.

A paper by Alfred G. Mayer, of the Marine Laboratory of the Carnegie Institution, on Further Studies on Nerve Conduction, showed the method of physics applied to biology. A circular animal like a jelly-fish, Cassiopeia, being taken, and the central stomach being removed, a ring of tissue was obtained, around which a wave of contraction could travel in both directions. By periodically giving an electrical stimulus at a definite point, the twitch at another point attached to a lever and marking on the smoked paper of a kymograph, the velocity of transmission could be found, just as if the waves were earthquake waves. The effect of dilution of seawater with acid distilled water was examined and the velocity found to be proportional to the electric conductivity of the solution.

E. G. Conklin, of Princeton University, presented a paper on The Share of Egg and Sperm in Heredity. It is one of the dogmas of modern biology that the egg and the sperm have exactly equal shares in heredity, that is, that we inherit equally from father and mother. According to Conklin, however, the eggs of different animals can be classified, so that one is a jelly-fish, one a star-fish, one a mollusc, the eggs being just as different as adults, even before fertilization. The conclusion is that while in general we inherit equally from both parents, we are vertebrates because our mothers were vertebrates. Individual characteristics have developed later, and chromosomes from both parents have contributed to these individual characteristics.

Lafayette B. Mendel and S. E. Judson, of Yale University, in a paper on Some Interrelations between Diet, Growth, and the Chemical Composition of the Body, described experiments on rats by which it was possible to stunt the animal by controlling its food, and also to start growth again normally.

The sole astronomical paper was by Charles P. Olivier, of the University of Virginia, on The Meteor System of the Pons-Winnecke Comet, and 139 Orbits of Meteor Streams. In May and June there are an unusual number of meteors, and the orbits of a great many of these being calculated on the hypothesis that they came into our system with the proper velocity to have parabolic orbits, it was found that they were connected with the old comet of Pons-Winnecke, which has been observed six or eight times since 1858, although changed by the attraction of Jupiter.

In the second session physics predominated. Edwin H. Hall, of Harvard University, presented a paper on The Mathematical Theory of Electric Conduction in Metals, in which the attempt was made to extricate from the complicated phenomena of vibrations of atoms with their attendant electrons, and the peregrinations of the loose electrons which bump into them, the known laws of electric and thermal conduction.

Edwin B. Rosa, of the National Bureau of Standards, in a paper on The Silver Voltameter as an International Standard, gave a vivid idea of the extremely accurate work done by that great national laboratory of physics,

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and its importance not only to our own country but to the world at large. Although the fundamental method of measuring an electric current is by means of its magnetic action, a more generally applicable practical method is by means of the amount of silver deposited from a solution by passing the current for a measured time, so that the determination of the so-called electrochemical equivalent is of prime practical as well as theoretical importance. In the twenty-five years before the international conference at London in 1908 at least fifty papers had been written on the silver voltameter, and at that conference a value was adopted supposed to be correct within one part in one hundred thousand. Immediately after the Bureau of Standards took up the subject in great detail, and Dr. Rosa and his colleagues are to be congratulated on the results. Every possible source of error was looked for, the purity of the reagents and the effect of the filter paper being most important. The result of the whole matter is that of the three fundamental electric units, the ohm, the volt, and the ampère, the agreement between the last two, assuming the first to be correct, is three parts in one hundred thousand, which gives an idea of the precision of electric measurements at the present time.

R. W. Wood, of Johns Hopkins University, presented two papers, the first having the curious title One-Dimensional Gases and the Reflection of Molecules. The kinetic theory of gases explains their properties by assuming that their molecules fly about indiscriminately in all directions, colliding with each other and with the walls of the containing vessel, the impacts on which cause the gas pressure. By taking mercury vapor in a narrow tube, the walls of which are kept cold, Professor Wood catches every molecule that flies sidewise far enough to strike the wall of the tube, and freezes it so as to take it out of the subsequent proceedings. Thus all motion except in one direction is removed, and the one-dimensional stream goes on like bullets from a machine-gun, and may be reflected from a mirror, provided it is kept hot enough. So much Wood had determined last year. He now examines more carefully the law of reflection, which is not like optical reflection, but more nearly as if every molecule flew off in a random direction, irrespective of the direction from which it arrived. He now finds that there is for every vapor a critical temperature below which all the molecules are condensed on striking the wall, above it very few. This temperature is for mercury, 150 degrees below zero centigrade, for cadmium 100, for iodine 40 approximately. In a second paper on Series in Resonance Spectra, Professor Wood determines an arithmetical law for the very interesting series of double lines in absorption spectra of a gas which is excited by monochromatic light from mercury vapor.

Elihu Thomson, of Swampscott, Mass., in a paper on Inferences Concerning Auroras, summed up the results of extremely careful descriptive observations of more than thirty years on these mysterious and fascinating phenomena. It has long been supposed that auroral phenomena were similar to those in which electrical discharges take place in exhausted tubes. According to Thomson the electrons received from the sun are shot off by the earth vertically, and where the conductivity of the atmosphere is of the proper magnitude we see the discharge. The auroral streams are always perpendicular to the surface of the earth, and are distributed along parallels of latitude in belts which may have considerable width. The auroral arch and the apparent convergence of rays towards the zenith are merely effects of perspective, the farther north the aurora the flatter the arch.

A. A. Michelson, of the University of Chicago, presented two papers on allied subjects. In the first, Report of Progress in Experiments for Measuring the Rigidity of the Earth, he described his attempts, the most successful yet made, to determine the warping of the solid earth by the stresses caused by the moon's attraction. While others have attempted to do this by means of the motions of a horizontal pendulum, Michelson devised the very simple and sensative method of using the displacement of a long water level, 500 feet in length, the surface of the water being in a tube half full of water, several feet underground. The displacement was so great as to be capable of being read directly by microscopes, although the more sensitive interferometer was also used, and recorded by photography. The idea involved may be briefly described as follows: A sphere of fluid would receive a certain deformation due to the tidal forces of the moon's attraction. A layer of fluid covering a stiff solid core would be deformed by a different amount. But if the core is not stiff, but yields somewhat, like a hard-boiled egg, the deformation of the fluid covering will be still less, and the tides not so high. Michelson finds that the earth does yield, as much as if it were about twice as rigid as steel. He also found the stiffness to be different in the east-west and in the north-south directions, in the ratio of about five to seven. Mr. Michelson has also deduced from his investigation of the viscosity of steel and other metals new and interesting laws described in a paper on The Laws of Elastico-Viscous Flow. The chief result may be stated by saying that the strain (change of shape or yielding) is less when the stress is applied a second time, that is, the body becomes stiffer or harder. This is by no means to substantiate the newspaper scare head that Michelson has discovered a new kind of steel. The departure from Hooke's law of the proportionality of stress to strain may be expressed by four terms, the first being proportional to the stress, the second to a power of the stress, the third containing a creeping effect disappearing as the time goes on, and the fourth an effect proportional to a power of the time.

A. G. Webster, of Clark University, in a paper on Practical Tests of a New Phonotrope, described an instrument, improved from one shown last year for finding the direction of a ray of sound proceeding from a fog-signal, the instrument being capable of being turned towards the sounding body.

C. G. Abbot, of the Smithsonian Institution, in a paper on The Preservation of Knowledge, pointed out the danger that all the scientific and other knowledge that has been so painfully accumulated might disappear, like the knowledge of the ancients, in a natural or human cataclysm such as that now occurring in Europe, and made a plea that steps should be taken to deposit in imperishable form in some inaccessible place the chief results obtained, for the benefit of posterity.

Franz Boas, of Columbia University, under the title Further Evidence Regarding the Instability of Human Types, pointed out, in continuation of previous communications, how immigrants in this country differ from their parents, apparently owing to the new environment.

C. P. Davenport, of the Station for Experimental Evolution of the Carnegie Institution, in a paper on Heredity of Stature, began by quoting the conclusions of Galton in 1887. The stature of children is not like that of their parents, because they inherit from all their ancestors. If two parents differ markedly in height, the children will tend to revert to medium stature. This law of regression was the cornerstone of biometry, and height was supposed to be a subject in which blending took place. Nowadays, on the contrary, we have no such idea of blending, but seek for distinct units that may be inherited, some being dominant, and others regressive. According to Davenport tallness is dominant; that is, short parents carry in their germ cells gametes for tall stature, but tall parents do not carry gametes for shortness. Thus the prevalence of tall people is explained.

Monday evening was devoted to an unusual and very attractive feature in the shape of a conversazione and exhibit of scientific research and apparatus, thirty-six exhibitors taking part.

On Tuesday afternoon a session was held with the National Research Council, in which problems of preparation and defence were discussed. In the evening the members were entertained at dinner at the Harvard Club by the local members, and an innovation was introduced in the form of speeches. The speaking concluded with a lofty plea by Professor W. M. Davis, that after the close of the war scientists of all the world should unite in the demand that science should not be prostituted to the destruction of life, but should be kept upon the high plane of medicine, which knows no enemy.

ARTHUR GORDON WEBSTER.

Drama

MME. BERNHARDT.

Mme. Bernhardt last week commenced a brief season in New York at the Empire Theatre, receiving on the opening night a touching welcome, a tribute both to the genius of the artist and to the indomitable spirit of the woman. The three short plays in which she appeared were trivial things in themselves, but well adapted to display the distinctive powers of Mme. Bernhardt triumphant over handicaps that would prove insuperable to a less accomplished artist. Indeed, the very handicaps only serve to emphasize the perfect mastery of the technique of her art which is not the least of Mme. Bernhardt's great gifts. To say that her powers are undiminished would be an obvious affectation, but to admit this is only to grant the unfairness of a comparison with cherished memories of her own self. In "La Mort de Cléopatre" it is a touching figure who bids farewell to Antony, a queenly one who hurls a last defiance at Octavian, and even hampered by a severe cold, the faultless enunciation is a joy to listen to. "L'Holocauste," a worthless and meretricious piece, affords Mme. Bernhardt opportunity in a modern tragic rôle, and "Du Théâtre au Champ d'Honneur" is a little sketch of a good deal of pathos dealing with the war, in which Mme. Bernhardt plays the part of a wounded soldier. A fourth play is "La Paix chez soi," an entertaining little

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domestic comedy played with much spirit by M. Jean Angelo and Mlle. Baujault. In M. Angelo, her leading man, and the rest of her company, Mme. Bernhardt has admirable support. S. W.

THE "PORTMANTEAU" THEATRE.

If there is a hint of preciosity, almost inseparable from ventures of its kind, in Stuart Walker's Portmanteau Theatre, which, after a series of matinées, has moved to the Princess Theatre, there is also much of genuine merit which commands unqualified approval and encouragement. Scenery and properties have been reduced to a minimum (we believe they are carried around the country in three large trunks), but with aid of artistic and carefully studied lighting it is astonishing what admirable effects are produced with very limited material. Mr. Walker began his season with three plays. "Six Who Pass while the Lentils Boil" is a pretty little fantasy, containing some excellent writing, which will appeal to the youthful of every age. "Nevertheless" is a pleasant trifle, a study of childhood, but of less merit than the other. These two were written by Mr. Walker himself. The third piece is Lord Dunsany's "The Gods of the Mountain," for the opportunity of seeing which New York should be grateful to Mr. Walker. It will be fully appreciated only if one avoids reading into it a mystic significance which does not exist, and regards it simply as the entertaining fancy that it is. The business of beggary in the city of Kongros has fallen on evil times, and the beggars are at a loss what to do, when a super-member of their craft, coming from a distant town, and having on his way observed the figures of the seven jade gods high up on the mountains, proposes that the beggars disguise themselves, not as the gods, but as the gods disguised as beggars. The final vengeance of the real gods, and the ironic resolution, through their vengeance, of the doubts of the inhabitants of Kongros, is the theme of the piece. It is a dramatic little play, almost Greek in the apprehension it provokes throughout of impending fate. It would lend itself admirably to elaborate staging, but is quite effective presented under the limitations of the Portmanteau Theatre. S. W.

"THE MASTER."

If Mr. Bernard Shaw had not fully acquainted American theatregoers with the spectacular realm of the unexpected, it is conceivable that the play which Arnold Daly brought last week to the Fulton Theatre might have caused a sensation. The piece, which is adapted by Benjamin F. Glazer from the German of Hermann Bahr, makes a study of what was once an unusual character, but what has now become almost a stage property—the man who can give a supposedly cogent reason for his libertine ways. In the present instance he happens to be a surgeon, who, through native ability rather than through any outside encouragement, has won the plaudits of his fellows. This circumstance is, however, but a setting for his real character, and is intended to give some respectability to his many infidelities to his wife. If a strong man can hold such a theory of life, the theory needs serious examination, is the inference. The theory is maintained, nevertheless, by the agile trickery which Mr. Shaw succeeded for a brief spell in passing off as sober reasoning. One pleasant novelty in the play is the figure of a Japanese doctor, a disciple of the master, who in trying to understand the curious domestic ways of the latter serves as a sensible foil, and keeps the audience clear as to the real bearings of the moral issue involved. The work is not without interest, as attested by the attitude of the audience, yet is at best a trifle. F.

"MILE-A-MINUTE KENDALL."

Owen Davis can hardly be credited with great invention in his latest play at the Lyceum Theatre. The characters are the conventional types so familiar in the gone-but-not-forgotten days of vivid melodrama. There are the young son of rich parents, actively engaged in sowing his wild oats; the girl whose morals have become frayed around the edges, and the other girl, who has never been farther afield than her home village. Of course, the father of the young man enters just when he is about to marry the adventuress, and, of course, he is disowned and deserted by his father and his fiancée. That disposes of one act, and the rest of the play is given over to a rehabilitation of the youth and the happy ending with the other girl as his bride. This is hackneyed material, but it is put together with a skill that hides its old age. Humorous situations have been cleverly devised, and there is no doubt a large part of the theatre-going public which will enjoy the piece. The acting of Tom Powers alone, in the rôle of Mile-a-Minute Kendall, demands consideration. H. L.

"THE HARP OF LIFE."

Maternal love and the general science of pedagogy—in the classical sense of leading a child in the way he should go—constitute the theme of "The Harp of Life," in the Globe Theatre. It was written for Laurette Taylor by her husband, J. Hartley Manners, a practiced dramatist, who has known how to furnish her with a character full of emotional appeal and generally, but not always, well suited to her style and capacity. The story which he tells, though fresh in some of its minor details, is by no means remarkable for originality, while the social philosophy or precept with which he has somewhat ostentatiously garnished it is not particularly valuable. Much of it is essentially sound—and trite; some of it is exceedingly disputable, and very little of it is of universal validity. In the illustration and application of it he is neither very clear nor very happy. In his psychological developments he permits theory and sentiment to ride roughshod over experience and probability. This probably may be accounted for by the obligation upon him to insure the dramatic triumph of the star as the representative of an ideal maternal devotion.

For the most part the play is old material decked with modern trimmings, which have an attractive glitter, but are not of sterling worth. In its present shape it is too talky, but it touches important subjects, and must be credited with praiseworthy intent and considerable literary and theatrical skill. And it is, on the whole, well acted. Laurette Taylor makes a very winning figure of the idealized heroine, whom she presents with the naturalness that comes with complete self-identification. She endows her with all her own most attractive characteristics. Her performance is intelligent and charming, but it is monotonous in color, defective in emotional power, and does not indicate much present power of versatility. Its predominant virtues are a quaint and infectious humor and a plaintive pathos. J. R. T.

One of the most attractive musical plays of the season was introduced last week at the Astor Theatre, under the title, "Her Soldier Boy." Although its setting, near one of the battle-fronts in Europe, is now no novelty, the comedy, as practiced by Clifton Crawford and Adele Rowland, is bright and wholesome, and some of the singing of John Charles Thomas and Beth Lydy is remarkably good.

Music

A GREAT OPERATIC CONDUCTOR.

It is not a mere coincidence that the greatest Wagnerian conductors, among whom are Hans Richter, whose death was announced last week, Anton Seidl, Franz Liszt, and Arthur Nikisch, came from Hungary. In Wagner's operas there is more of the passionate impetuosity and quick change of pace and mood which are characteristic of the Magyar than of the placidity and regularity of the German—though, to be sure, there is also such a thing as the proverbial *furor Teutonicus*. Wagner realized at an early stage in his career that a new kind of orchestral conductors would have to be called into existence before his operas could be adequately performed. For a time he himself interpreted them at the Royal Opera in Dresden; and a little later Liszt made of Weimar a sort of preliminary Bayreuth, to which those flocked who wished to get correct impressions of Wagner's works. Then came Wagner's long exile because of his participation in the revolutionary uprising; and during those twelve years of enforced absence from his native country his operas were mercilessly maltreated, partly by incompetent singers, but chiefly by conductors whose mechanical time-beating robbed his music of all its dramatic eloquence. The reports he got from friends were so discouraging that he wrote to Liszt: "I am glad not to hear all the wretched performances of my operas in Germany, which would probably only break my heart."

We must bear these things in mind to understand fully what Hans Richter meant to the great operatic reformer. During his exile he had created a new class of works —"Rheingold," "Walküre," part of "Siegfried," and "Tristan and Isolde," in which he went still farther than in "Tannhäuser" and "Lohengrin" in the demands made on a conductor's dramatic instincts for climaxes and fluctuating pace, or what is usually miscalled *tempo rubato*. In Richter he found the man who had these instincts to a degree possessed later only by Anton Seidl. At first he was employed by the great composer in Lucerne to copy the first act of "Die Meistersinger" for the printer, a task which, because of the chaotic condition of

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Wagner's sketches, called for a thorough musician. Richter had been a horn player, and his heart must have leaped with joy at the glorious melodies for his instrument in this score, which is the apotheosis of the French horn, or forest horn, as the Germans call it. On Wagner's recommendation, Richter was engaged as chorus-master at the Royal Opera in Munich in 1868. Two years later he conducted "Lohengrin" at Brussels; but it was during his directorship of the opera at Pest, from 1871-75, that he got that experience which qualified him for the honor Wagner conferred on him when he chose him as conductor of the Bayreuth Festival in 1876, and first interpreter of the complete Nibelung cycle.

While it is nonsense to say that no one has a right to criticise a symphony or a picture unless he can compose or paint one himself, it is doubtless true that the interpreter of an operatic score should be able to play at least some of the instruments. From this point of view, also, Richter was the right man. The German critic, Tappert, wrote of him: "Richter is as much at home in the orchestra as a fish in the water. As real *Kapellmeister* we see him now with a viola in his hand, and suddenly we find him behind the big drum, or tinkling the triangle." A deeper glimpse into the secret of his success is given by the eminent Belgian author, Kufferath, who wrote: "You know in the 'Tristan' prelude the plaintive melody of the oboe which, after the first song of the violoncellos, rises in semi-tones, to die away in a very tender *pianissimo*. To indicate the expression of this phrase, while his right hand was beating the measure, M. Richter quietly placed his left hand on his heart, with a natural and unaffected movement that said plainly and touchingly, 'Play with soul.' And his wish was obeyed."

The difference between a real operatic conductor and a mere time-beater is clearly revealed in this anecdote. As chief conductor of the Imperial Opera in Vienna for nearly a decade Richter had abundant opportunity to demonstrate this difference. He also conducted the Philharmonic concerts; indeed (unlike not a few others), he was no less great in the concert hall than in the opera house; and when he received a call to Manchester, England, in 1897, as conductor of the local orchestra, he accepted. The reasons for this change were purely financial. He had a family to support and provide for after his death, and the Austrians, like the Germans, while they love music, hate to pay the musicians. He had, previously to this engagement, appeared frequently in England as conductor of the operas of Wagner, and of excerpts from them, as well as of Beethoven's symphonies, in the concert halls of London and other cities; and in course of time a Richter cult developed which, though it almost degenerated into a fad, had a most salutary influence on musical culture in England. Oscar Hammerstein, as well as the directors of the Metropolitan Opera House, repeatedly but in vain urged Richter to accept a post in New York.

Finance

WALL STREET'S HIGH MONEY RATE.

The 15 per cent. rate to which "call money," or Stock Exchange loans repayable on demand, was bid up last week on Wall Street, undoubtedly ranked as a sensation in the financial history of the year. This was not because such a rate, on that class of loans, has in the past been unusual for December. Call money on Wall Street reached 10 per cent. in the last week of November, 1913, and 20 per cent. in the same week of 1912; 25 per cent. in December, 1907, and 36 per cent. in the same month of 1906. In the closing week of 1905 it got to 125.

But there were two important reasons why the 15 per cent. rate of last week struck even Wall Street with amazement. One was that the country had imported, during the preceding months of 1916, the prodigious sum of $500,000,000 gold, most of which came originally to New York city. But the other reason was that when the new Federal Reserve system was established in 1914, it was confidently asserted by the banking community that Wall Street would never again see call money go to the old-time spectacular rates. It was recognized that the Federal Reserve banks cannot rediscount loans secured by Stock Exchange collateral—which is the case with all "call loans." But the prevalent belief was that the general position of the money market would be so far regulated, through judicious shifting of eligible loans to the Reserve Bank's rediscounting department, as to preclude the recurrence of the old-time spasms of abnormally high rates on any class of loans.

When any one inquires how money could be tight, even in Wall Street, in the face of our huge gold imports, he will always discover first that the newly imported gold has this year not stayed in New York at all. In 1915 the New York banks added $212,000,000 to their specie reserves in vault between January and December. At the beginning of this present month, although the year's gold imports had been larger even than in 1916, the same specie holdings were $98,000,000 less than last January and $137,000,000 less than twelve months ago. Further investigation shows that the real influence of the present year has been the outflow of the newly imported gold to interior banks. There can be little doubt as to the general influences at work in that direction. They are three in number.

In the first place, it has always been the experience of this country that a year of intensely active and profitable interior trade draws heavily on Eastern cash reserves. Not only is more actual money needed at such times for Western and Southern bank reserves, but the amount in constant hand-to-hand use, for pocket-money, till-money, and pay-roll money, increases greatly. In this regard the immense increase of business activity in the interior, as compared with a year ago, is a cause in itself.

A second and kindred cause for the redistribution of reserve money from New York has been the abnormally high prices prevalent for commodities. Any rapid and general advance in that field means that demands on credit will be larger than last year to conduct even an unchanged volume of business.

But the third cause is peculiarly applicable to the present situation. The greater part of Europe's enormous purchases of merchandise this year—whether of grain or of metals or of finished munitions—represented commodities produced in the nearer or farther West. Precisely as the situation on foreign exchange drew Europe's gold to New York, so the situation on domestic exchange drew the same gold from New York to the interior. That process was naturally emphasized when the Eastern market was financing the large loans for the Allies. The borrowing Governments drew on the proceeds of such loans to pay the makers of metals and munitions. But since the great bulk of these supplies were produced at interior manufacturing centres, this again meant Western credits at the Eastern banks, and consequent Westward shipment of New York reserve money.

As to why this situation was not regulated through rediscount of commercial loans with the Federal Reserve Banks—thus relieving the general bank position—that is another question. The recourse, especially during the heavy year-end demands on credit, has been invariably practiced in European money markets served by a central bank. To what extent the facilities were used, in ordinary times of peace, may be judged from the $120,000,000 increase in rediscounts at the Bank of England during December, 1913, followed by $100,000,000 reduction of the same account in the first week of the New Year. There was nothing exceptional in these large figures.

Furthermore, there were abundant facilities for the purpose at our Federal Reserve Banks. When this present month began, the New York Reserve Bank's outstanding loans on commercial paper footed up only $37,000,000, of which less than $1,000,000 represented actual rediscounts asked by member banks; yet the cash holdings of the Reserve Bank were $156,000,000. Taking all the twelve Reserve Banks together, the cash reserve against all liabilities, even after deducting the 40 per cent. gold reserve against outstanding circulation, was 73⅞ per cent., as against a required percentage of only 35 per cent. Why, then, had the individual banks not resorted to the large facilities thus open, before the tight-money episode of last week?

Various explanations have been offered, such as the theory that banks are unfamiliar with the rediscounting practice; that some of them dislike to lean on a Reserve Bank; that perhaps they did not wish to pledge their bills receivable for the purpose of keeping Wall Street's demand loan market in

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order. The last position would be reasonable, up to a certain point—certainly so, if loans on Stock Exchange stocks had been unduly inflated, either as to amount or as to quoted values. But the fact must nevertheless remain, that the machinery of the credit market had been allowed to get out of gear, when a moderate and temporary use of the new banking provisions should reasonably have prevented it. During the week which followed the 15 per cent. money rate of December 4, this phase of the situation seemed to have been partly recognized. Loans of the New York Federal Reserve Bank increased $13,900,000, rediscounts asked by member banks rising from $652,000 to $9,942,000; while in all of the twelve Reserve Banks combined the total increase in the loan account was $30,000,000. But this was only a beginning.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

FICTION.

James, H. The Portrait of a Lady. Vols. I and II. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50 net.
Lawrence, D. H. The Prussian Officer and Other Stories. Huebsch. $1.50 net.
Lawrence, D. H. Twilight in Italy. Huebsch. $1.50 net.
Molesworth, Mrs. Edmée—A Tale of the French Revolution. Macmillan. $1.25.
Mundy, T. King of the Khyber Rifles. Bobbs-Merrill. $1.35 net.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Genève: Chez A. Jullien.
Barrès, M. Le Blason de la France, ou ses traits éternels dans cette guerre et dans les vieilles épopées. Oxford University Press.
Burd, H. A. Joseph Ritson—A Critical Biography. University of Illinois. Studies in Language and Literature. $1.15.
Extracts from the Itineraries and Other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles, 1755-1794. Edited by F. B. Dexter. Yale University Press. $3 net.
Jefferson, C. E. A Fire in the Snow. Crowell.
Lewisohn, L. The Spirit of Modern German Literature. Huebsch. $1 net.
Montague, M. P. Of Water and the Spirit. Dutton. 50 cents net.
Pearson, W. W. Shantiniketan. The Bolpur School of Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan. $1.50 net.
Rawnsley, H. D. Past and Present at the English Lakes. London: James MacLehose & Sons. 5s. net.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY.

Campbell, R. J. A Spiritual Pilgrimage. Appleton. $2 net.
Chrysostom, Brother. Development of Personality. Introduction by T. W. Churchill. Philadelphia: J. J. McVey. $1.25 net.
Fowler, H. T. The Origin and Growth of the Hebrew Religion. University of Chicago Press.
Park, J. E. The Children's Bread. Pilgrim Press. 75 cents net.

GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMICS.

A. E. The National Being. Macmillan. $1.35.
Haines, C. G., and others. The Teaching of Government. Macmillan. $1.10.
Holdich, T. H. Political Frontiers and Boundary Making. Macmillan.
Perine, E. T. B. The Story of the Trust Companies. Putnam. $2 net.
Proud, E. D. Welfare Work. Macmillan. $3 net.

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

Brehaut, E. History of the Franks. Columbia University Press.
Burgess, J. W. America's Relations to the Great War. McClurg. $1 net.
Davis, J. M. Davis—Soldier-Missionary. Pilgrim Press. $1.50 net.
Elwell-Sutton, A. S. Humanity versus Un-Humanity. T. Fisher-Unwin. 4s. 6d. net.
Hutton, M. Thucydides and History. From the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada. Series III. Vol. X.
Mathews, S. The Spiritual Interpretation of History. Harvard University Press. $1.50.
Riis, J. A. The Making of an American. Macmillan. $2.25.
Rosendal, H. The Problem of Danish Slesvig. Translated by A. T. Hansen. Oxford Univ. Press.
Scott, J. F. Patriots in the Making. Appleton. $1.50 net.
Southey, R. The Life of Nelson. Houghton Mifflin. $2 net.
Tooker, L. F. John Paul Jones (True Stories of Great Americans). Macmillan. 50 cents.
Wright, I. A. The Early History of Cuba. 1492-1586. Macmillan. $2 net.

POETRY.

Batten, J. D. Poems. London: Chiswick Press 1s. net.
Bénet, W. R. The Great White Wall. Yale University Press. $1 net.
Duer, D. The Vanished World. Boston: Sherman, French. 80 cents.
Foster, J. R. Neighbors of Yesterday. Sherman, French. $1 net.
Haskins, H. S. Cat's Cradle. Boston: Sherman, French. $1.25 net.
How, L. A Hidden Well. Boston: Sherman, French. $1 net.
Nina Jones—Her Book. San Francisco: Paul Elder. $1 net.
Oxford Historical and Literary Studies. Vol. 8—Political Ballads. Edited by M. Percival. Oxford University Press.
Reid-Heyman, S. A Vagabond's Wallet. Oxford: Blackwell. 2s. net.
Seeger, A. Poems. Introduction by W. Archer. Scribner. $1.25 net.
Selected Poems of Thomas Hardy. Golden Treasury Series. Macmillan. $1 net.
Strange, M. Miscellaneous Poems. Mitchell Kennerley.
Wallace, E. K. Feelings and Things. Verses of Childhood. Dutton. $1 net.
Weaving, W. The Star Fields, and Other Poems. Oxford: Blackwell. 5s. net.

SCIENCE.

Mason, W. P. Water Supply. Fourth edition, rewritten. J. Wiley & Sons.

DRAMA AND MUSIC.

Flexner, A. C. The Marriage Game. Huebsch. $1 net.

ART.

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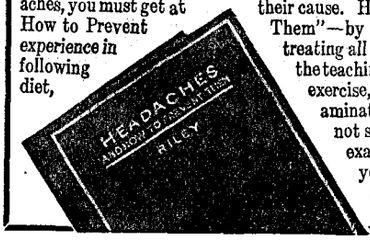

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